University of Alberta

Imaginary Audience and Voice in Undergraduate Emerging Adults

by

Sheila Kreyszig

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between level of voice and imaginary audience among undergraduate emerging adult students aged 18-29, using qualitative and quantitative methods. Undergraduate students at a large western Canadian university (N=341), completed the New Imaginary Audience Scale (NIAS: Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989), the Level of Voice Questionnaire (Harter, Waters,Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998), the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ: Spence & Helmreich, 1978) and the Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (IDEA: Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2003). Gender differences were found on scores of feminine gender orientation, and women reported higher feminine orientation than did men. No gender differences were revealed on level of voice or imaginary audience. Students with low grade point standing (GPA) differed from those with medium and high GPA, on level of voice with parents, and on feminine gender orientation. Those with low GPA also differed from those with high GPA on level of voice with professors.

Through semi-structured interviews, emerging adults (N=9) discussed their need for connection in relationships. Familiarity, comfort, and sense of ease were associated with higher levels of voice. Participants who reported using imaginary audience described engaging in it as a method of preparation, as a coping mechanism to deal with discomfort, or, for some, as a form of fantasy. Some of the participants made connections between imaginary audience and level of voice, suggesting that for some individuals, lower levels of voice were associated with greater use of imaginary audience ideation. These findings provide valuable information for developmental psychologists and educators who deal with emerging adults in academic environments.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Erik Erikson (1902-1994) created one of the most influential theories of human development in which he highlighted the social nature of human beings throughout the lifespan. His views about the stage of *identity versus role confusion* had considerable impact on research in the area of adolescent developmental psychology. In particular, in his theory, Erikson (1963, 1968) emphasized adolescents' socialization with peers and their preoccupation with social feedback and acceptance from others, which provided a strong foundation for subsequent research into adolescent egocentrism and *imaginary audience* (Elkind, 1967, Lapsley 1993; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985). He also influenced the research concerning the notion of connection in relationships as related to *loss of voice* (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 1993; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990; Harter, 1995; Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998).

Changing trends have caused shifts in society and changes in the theory and research in the field of developmental psychology. Societal trends over the last fifty years such as delayed marriage, later parenthood, and prolonged education have allowed many individuals to extend the exploration of issues related to development beyond adolescence into a distinct stage of *emerging adulthood* which occurs around age 18 and into one's twenties (Arnett, 1994, 2000). Arnett reported that emerging adults do not view themselves as either adolescents or adults. His theory provided an impetus for researchers to consider issues related to identity and exploration that were critical to adolescence in the past, with individuals in the period of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 1994, 2000, 2006b). Level of voice and imaginary audience are two concepts that

researchers have examined with adolescents and may also be relevant to those in later periods of development (Gilligan, 1982; Lapsley, 1993).

Brown and Gilligan (1992) defined loss of voice as a "struggle over speaking and not speaking, knowing and not knowing, feeling and not feeling" (p. 4). Gilligan and her colleagues studied the concept of voice in school-aged girls (Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, Lyons & Hammer, 1990). They proposed that as young girls progressed toward adolescence they learned to repress their thoughts and feelings in order to maintain a sense of belonging with others and to divert attention away from themselves (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). Brown and Gilligan suggested that the struggle that adolescent girls experienced influenced "their feelings about themselves, their relationships with others, and their ability to act in the world" (p. 4). They also indicated that girls disconnected from their own thoughts and feelings in an attempt to stay connected with others. While Gilligan and her colleagues provided valuable information pertaining to the development of girls and loss of voice during adolescence, critics argued that they neglected to supply information about boys (Eaken, 2001; Gerstel, 2001; Goldberg, 2002; Sommers, 2000; Simpson, 1995).

In their research on voice, Susan Harter and her colleagues questioned whether gender differences related to loss of voice (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). They considered levels of voice (high and low) in both boys and girls, using the concept of loss of voice as proposed by Gilligan and her colleagues (Gilligan 1982; Brown & Gilligan, 1992). Those individuals possessing low levels of voice suppressed their thoughts and feelings, whereas those with high levels of voice expressed their opinions and shared their feelings with ease (Harter, Waters, &

Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). They reported relationships between level of voice and gender orientation, rather than level of voice and gender as proposed by Gilligan and her colleagues.

Lapsley and Rice (1988) described imaginary audience as "the adolescent's belief that he or she is the object of the others' attention and evaluation" (p. 110). They indicated that individuals engaged in imaginary audience to prepare for interaction with others. Individuals used imaginary audience to anticipate the reactions of others so that they could look desirable to others and feel a sense of belonging with others. The individual was able to see "himself/herself as both actor and object" (Lapsey & Murphy, 1985, p. 209). Individuals who were concerned with interpersonal issues such as connectedness and attachment, engaged in imaginary audience more than did individuals concerned with autonomy, self-assertion, and independence (Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson 1989; Vartanian, 2000). In particular, Lapsley and his colleagues suggested a relationship between the concepts of voice and imaginary audience in that they felt that these concepts related to the individual's need for connection in relationships (Lapsley, 1993; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson, 1989). Some researchers also suggested that individuals who engaged in imaginary audience had concerns with interpersonal issues and their connections with others (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). Other scholars suggested that individuals repressed their voice in order to maintain relationships and remain connected with others (Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990).

Much of the research concerning the concepts of voice and imaginary audience has focused on issues pertaining to adolescents (Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992;

Gilligan, Lyons & Hammer, 1990; Goossens, Byers, Emmen, & van Aken, 2002; Harter, 1995; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell & Kastelic, 1998; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson, 1989; Rogers, 1993; Wren, 1997; Vartanian, 1997). However, some researchers have suggested that issues surrounding voice and imaginary audience may extend beyond adolescence (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982; Lapsley, 1993; Peterson, 1982; Peterson & Roscoe, 1991; Vartanian, 2000), thus including the period of emerging adulthood. Arnett (2000) stressed that the issues of emerging adulthood concerned finding one's sense of place in the world, becoming more self-directed (autonomous) while maintaining balance (connection) with family and significant others, and the creation and maintenance of relationships with others, issues all of which may have connections to voice and imaginary audience.

More emerging adults have continued their formal education beyond high school than ever before (Arnett, 2000, 2004; Statistics Canada, 2005). Statistics Canada (2004) reported that undergraduate enrollment in Canada during the 2001-2002 academic year was 689,700 students, which increased to 776,885 students in 2003-2004 (Statistics Canada, 2005). University students spend a significant amount of time within the campus environment attending classes, preparing for future careers, and dealing with various tasks of emerging adulthood such as separation, connection, and creation and maintenance of intimate relationships (Arnett, 2000, 2004). Within the university setting, emerging adults must learn to negotiate their way within the academic setting striving for academic success, while establishing and maintaining relationships with others (Arnett, 2000, 2004; Weinstein, 1988). A need for connection with others may affect an individual's beliefs and actions, the use of imaginary audience, and the repression of

one's own voice (Lapsley, 1993, Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson 1989; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985; Vartanian, 2000). Given emerging adults' experiences and the challenges of balancing between autonomy and connection and researchers suggestions concerning voice and imaginary audience, it is therefore important to consider the relationship of voice and imaginary audience in emerging adults. In addition, researchers have suggested that academic success is an important factor related to the emerging adult's education. Arnett (2000, 2004) indicated that the tasks of emerging adulthood include explorations of their autonomy and the emerging adults' connections with others.

Purpose of the Study

The researcher addressed the following questions in this study: (1) What is the relationship between gender, grade point average standing (low, medium and high GPA), and scores on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation for the overall sample? (2) Will scores of undergraduate emerging adult men and women differ significantly on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation? (3) Are there differences among undergraduate emerging adults based on their grade point average standing and scores on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation? (4) Do the combined variables of gender and grade point average affect level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation? (5) What are the experiences of a limited number of participants concerning voice and imaginary audience?

In this study, the researcher examined the relationship between imaginary audience and level of voice and considered the variables of gender, gender orientation, and academic success among emerging adults attending university using quantitative

methods. In addition, she used qualitative methods to explore the personal beliefs and experiences of emerging adults concerning their use imaginary audience and level of voice in various relational contexts. The quantitative method allowed the researcher to use existing measurement instruments in consideration of imaginary audience and voice, which generated numerical data used for comparative and descriptive purposes. The use of both methods provided more comprehensive information than would be possible in using one method alone.

Overview of the Study

Undergraduate university student volunteers (92 men and 249 women), aged 18 to 29, enrolled in classes in various faculties at a large western Canadian medical and research university participated in the study. Participants completed several questionnaires and provided personal information such as their age, sex, year of university. The measures used to examine imaginary audience and level of voice included the New Imaginary Audience Scale (NIAS: Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson, 1989) found in Appendix D, and the Level of Voice Questionnaire (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998) found in Appendix E. They also completed a measure of gender orientation known as the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ: Spence & Helmreich, 1978) found in Appendix F. The researcher administered the Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (IDEA: Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2003) found in Appendix G, to obtain descriptive information about participants beliefs about adulthood and emerging adulthood. The participants also completed a survey of personal information

created by the researcher found in Appendix B, which provided information concerning participants' ages, grade point averages, and other relevant descriptive information.

The researcher analyzed data gathered from these measures using descriptive, univariate, and multivariate statistics. In addition, she conducted interviews with nine individuals in order to explore the experiences of emerging adults concerning voice and imaginary audience. The basic qualitative interpretive study uncovered information that quantitative inquiry alone could not reveal.

Given that participants volunteered for the study, the researcher could not generalize the findings beyond what she found from her investigation with the sample used in her study. She did not take into account the specific age differences within emerging adulthood; rather, she considered the group as a whole. The researcher investigated possible gender differences, but she did not investigate gender differences separately on variables under consideration.. In addition, the researcher did not connect the data from quantitative measures to the information provided by individuals who volunteered for interviews, in order to adhere to ethical guidelines considering the participants' anonymity and confidentiality. Despite these limitations of this study, the data obtained provided information about imaginary audience and level of voice among emerging adult university students that added to the existent body of research and provided information to educators, and researchers interested in the area of human development, and particularly in emerging adulthood.

Organization of the Document

The document following this introduction includes these chapters: Review of the Literature, Methods, Research Design and Data Analysis, Discussion, Implications and Conclusion, References, and Appendices.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter will provide the reader with an overview of the literature concerning voice, imaginary audience, and emerging adulthood, which serves to contextualize the framework of the present study.

One's sense of voice may affect one's thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about different relationships. Brown and Gilligan (1992) described voice as one's ability to express one's thoughts, feelings and knowledge (p. 4). Scholars also suggested that people imagine themselves in situations or relational contexts as a way of preparing for other's reactions to their behaviors and appearances (Elkind, 1967; Lapsley, 1985, 1993; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985; Lapsley, & Rice, 1988; Lapsley, 1993), which is known as imaginary audience (Elkind, 1967). Some scholars proposed a relationship between the need for connection as seen in those who experience loss of voice, and imaginary audience (Lapsley, 1993; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson 1989; Vartanian, 2000). Though research about voice and imaginary audience has focused primarily on the period of adolescence, some scholars proposed that issues concerning voice and imaginary audience may extend beyond adolescence (Gilligan, 1982; Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000) and through to adulthood, including the distinct stage of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 1994, 2000, 2006b), from age 18 into one's twenties.

Erik Erikson (1902-1994) influenced the world of developmental psychology immensely. Inspired by Freud's psychosexual stages of development, Erikson (1963, 1968) proposed that human beings progressed through eight sequential stages of psychosocial development through the life cycle. In particular, the stage of identity versus

role confusion provided a strong foundation for adolescent developmental researchers who studied issues concerning the socialization of individuals within this stage. The stage of identity versus role confusion bridged between childhood and adulthood. In the development of identity, the individual focused on socialization with peers and others beyond one's family. Erikson (1959) indicated that individuals in this stage were preoccupied with "what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are" (p. 89).

Muuss (1996) stated that Erikson's ideas about the adolescent's preoccupation with the view of others served as a foundation for research on egocentrism, introduced by David Elkind (1967). In particular, Elkind labelled the individual's preoccupation with the way that others view him or her as the imaginary audience. He also described the progression of egocentrism from childhood through adolescence, using a cognitive framework as proposed by Jean Piaget (sensorimotor, pre-operational, concrete-operational, and formal-operational stages). Elkind proposed that the imaginary audience declined toward the end of adolescence. However, researchers recently revised Elkind's views, suggesting that imaginary audience was less a function of egocentrism, but more a natural social function within normal social development (Lapsley, 1993; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985).

Carol Gilligan (1982) argued that Erikson's ideas about development emphasized issues crucial to male development and focused on autonomy as an ideal for adolescents. She said that while Erikson recognized the relational needs of females, he retained his original stages of development, thus neglecting female development. Within her research on female development, she found that girls centred on their connections in relationships.

She introduced the concept of loss of voice, which she and her colleagues reported became salient during adolescence (Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990). The word voice commonly refers to the human physical apparatus that produces sound, also known as "literal voice" (Elbow, 2000, p. 193). The Oxford English Dictionary (online) provided the following description of the act of using voice as: "To give voice, utterance, or expression to (an emotion, opinion, etc.); to express in words or with the voice; to proclaim openly or publicly." According to this definition, if one has voice, he or she may express himself or herself with ease. In contrast, loss of voice, though it commonly refers to medical issues such as laryngitis, is also used to describe one's repression of thoughts, feelings, and/ or knowledge (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 1993; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990). In her discussion of voice, Gilligan (1993) stated, "to have voice is to be human. To have something to say is to be a person. But speaking depends on listening and being heard; it is an intensely relational act" (p. xvi).

Brown and Gilligan (1992) indicated that loss of voice was related to a need for connection and a wish to appear as a desirable to others. Gilligan and her colleagues set out to understand the development of girls. Consequently, critics argued that, Gilligan and her colleagues neglected boys in their research, and they questioned their research methods (Eaken, 2001; Gerstel, 2001; Goldberg, 2002; Sommers, 2000; Simpson, 1995). However, only a few researchers followed-up with investigations that considered both boys and girls and men and women in their research on the concept of voice (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002). These researchers suggested that high or low levels of voice related

to gender orientation, rather than to gender as proposed by Gilligan and her colleagues (Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990).

Brown and Gilligan (1992) said that individuals experience loss of voice in an effort to maintain connections with others. In addition, others proposed a relationship between imaginary audience and the need for connection, as experienced by those who lose their voice (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). Some scholars suggested that level of voice and imaginary audience might extend beyond adolescence (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982; Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). Imaginary audience and voice have not been examined vis-à-vis research with adolescents or emerging adults.

Jeffrey Arnett (1994, 2000) suggested that changes in society over time have allowed individuals to prolong the exploration issues related to identity, independence, and interpersonal concerns beyond adolescence into a distinct period called emerging adulthood. He provided several characteristics of emerging adulthood, including self-focus, diversity, instability, and hope. In addition, emerging adulthood allowed individuals to delay marriage and parenthood, and to prolong their education.

Arnett (2000) urged researchers to consider "virtually every aspect of development" (p. 476) related to emerging adulthood. In fact, Arnett (2006a) emphasized the ongoing contributions to the study of emerging adulthood, indicating that almost half of the articles printed in the 2005 issues of the *Journal of Adolescent Research* included emerging adults. A detailed examination of the literature related to level and loss of voice, imaginary audience, and emerging adulthood follows in the subsequent sections.

Loss and Level of Voice

Carol Gilligan (1982) discussed loss of voice in her attempt to address the marginalization and neglect of women in psychological research. She contended that researchers continued to neglect gender differences in their studies. Much of the research carried out by Gilligan and her colleagues focused on the development of girls before and during adolescence (Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990; Rogers, 1993). Gilligan, Lyons, and Hammer (1990) conducted their research with girls up to grade 12. Brown and Gilligan studied girls in grades 1, 4, 7, and 10. Brown and Gilligan (1992) proposed that girls between the ages of 7 and 16 moved through three distinct developmental stages. In the first stage, girls aged 7 to 10 demonstrated a sense of confidence and remained clear about their relationships. Brown and Gilligan (1992) reported,

> These young girls know how they feel and what they want; they also know what others want them to do and be so they anticipate others' reactions to their voices. They have a capacity for careful attention and concern for others, as well as strong voices and clear sense of both the pleasures and pains of relationships. (p. 53)

At about age 11, girls entered the second stage in which they began to anticipate the thoughts and feelings of others. According to Brown and Gilligan (1992), girls in this stage began to look for and wish to become the "perfect girl." In an attempt to attain the sense of perfection, these girls experienced conflict between what they knew and what they said in an effort to maintain relationships with others. These girls also became aware of the consequences of knowing and voicing their feelings. Gilligan, Lyons, and Hammer

(1990) reported that these girls watched "when women speak and when they are silent" (p. 25). Brown and Gilligan (1992) indicated that some girls questioned the actions of such women, and thus referred to these girls as "whistle-blowers."

Brown and Gilligan reported that in the third stage of this development, by age 12, adolescent girls experienced a need for connection in a world that promoted autonomy (as seen in Erikson's theory of development) during adolescence, thus causing a crisis of connection. They argued that girls were encouraged to either exclude others or exclude themselves in order to fit the "good woman" or "selfish woman" stereotype (Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990). Brown and Gilligan (1992) said that the girls experienced a loss of voice in which they battled with themselves "over speaking and not speaking, knowing and not knowing, feeling and not feeling" (p. 4). Brown and Gilligan suggested that by the age of 15, the phrase "I don't know" became common in the repertoire of adolescent girls creating a sense of disconnection. Rogers (1993) stated that "girls who give up authentic relationships try to sustain and anemic shadow of these relationships in the service of becoming a good woman" (p. 288). Gilligan (2003) stated:

> Listening to adolescent girls, I hear over and over again their desire for honesty in relationships, and the intensity of this desire suggests that they are encountering a dishonesty they had neither expected nor imagined. *They are describing a process of initiation, culturally scripted and enforced.* (p. 97).

Several feminist researchers used the work of Gilligan and her colleagues as a foundation from which to study the lives of girls and women. For example, in their study

of the development of women, Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) made specific reference to Gilligan (1982) and emphasized the importance of voice and connection in the lives of girls and women. Researchers and clinicians at the Stone Center at Wellesley College also focused on the relational development of late adolescents and women, in which they considered the issues of women's "self-in-relation" and their connection and disconnection in relationships (Jordan, 1989; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991; Kaplan, Klein, & Gleason, 1985; Miller, Jordan, Kaplan, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991; Surrey, 1985). Brown (1991) conducted narrative interviews with several girls aged 7 to 16, in order to investigate their relational knowledge and sense of voice. She reported that girls were concerned about "caring for themselves, inclusion and exclusion, differences and perspective, not hurting others, experiences of interdependence, connection, and concern for the welfare of others, and attachment and detachment" (p. 55). Teicher (1996) also examined the importance of women as mentors in the lives of adolescent girls, and Wren (1997) considered loss of voice and potential curriculum, which he thought would enhance the education of girls.

Other researchers focused on the education and academic success of girls. For example, the American Association of University Women-AAUW (1992) suggested that the education system in the United States was male-biased and did not treat girls as equal to boys. In an AAUW executive summary, they declared, "all girls confront barriers to equal participation in school and society" (p. 4). Within this report, suggestions for change highlighted requirements for teachers and administrators to provide an equal opportunity environment for girls in schools. Other studies also marked the differences in school achievement and self-image between boys and girls (Galambos, Almeida, &

Petersen, 1990). Rogers (1993) suggested that motivation for achievement in adolescent girls diminished and achievement scores tended to decline. Based on the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) survey of adolescents in 1990, Holmes and Silverman (1992) reported gender differences in self-concept, relationships, work and school life. They also suggested some gender inequities in Canadian schools. Schmidt (2005) indicated that while more women registered in undergraduate programs at Canadian universities, there was still great disparity between the number of men and women enrolled in the sciences. She suggested that gender stereotypes existed among parents of young men and women, thus affecting their choice of educational paths.

Gilligan's ideas concerning loss of voice influenced researchers in developmental psychology, clinical psychology, and education (American Association of University Women (AAUW), 1992; Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998; Holmes & Silverman, 1992; Jordan, 1989; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver & Surrey, 1991; Kaplan, Klein, & Gleason, 1985; Rogers, 1993; Surrey, 1985; Wren, 1997). She also inspired the popular media (e.g. Fine, 2001; Hey, 1997; Hubbard, Barbeiri, & Power, 1998; Johnson, Roberts, & Worell, 1999; Lecroy & Daley, 2001; O'Reilly, Penn, & deMarrais, 2001; Orenstein, 1994; Pipher, 1994; Shore, 2000; Saxton, 1981; Toufexis, 1990; Van Gelder, 1990. Vogels, 2002; Weisman, 2002).

Criticisms of Gilligan's Research

Despite the widespread social acceptance of the work of Gilligan and her colleagues, some people suggested that there were flaws in their research. Criticisms included the fact that Brown and Gilligan (1992) and Gilligan, Lyons, and Hammer (1990) chose to conduct their studies at private all girl schools (Laurel School in Cleveland, Ohio and the Emma Willard School in Troy, New York). Critics argued that given the private school environment, the participants selected came from a privileged background and so the information gathered by Gilligan and her colleagues could not be generalized to all girls. In addition, they said that Gilligan and her colleagues did not consider boys within their work, and therefore, they really could not address the differences between boys and girls (Eaken, 2001; Gerstel, 2001; Goldberg, 2000; Sommers, 2000). In Gilligan's response to this criticism, she argued that her research involved studies of the development of women and girls and that she did not attempt to make any over-generalization concerning differences between boys and girls. In addition, Sommers (2000) suggested that Gilligan withheld all of the data from the studies conducted at the private schools for girls, which therefore did not allow researchers to replicate her studies. However, Gilligan (2000) pleaded that she provided as much information as possible in order to remain ethical and maintain participant confidentiality. She said that she wanted to transcribe the data entirely before providing it to other researchers. Simpson (1995) also argued that Brown and Gilligan (1992) lacked consistency in their method of inquiry. In particular, she suggested that their Listener's Guide for interviews was not clear and that it contained possible biased details.

Despite the allegations against the work of Gilligan and her colleagues, few subsequent studies addressed these criticisms. However, Susan Harter and her colleagues conducted empirical studies considering gender and gender orientation in relation to voice in adolescent boys and girls (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). They suggested that there were different levels of voice rather than only a loss of voice, and that both boys and girls experienced different levels of voice in different relational contexts. Harter and her colleagues reported that level of voice varied, depending on the relational context (i.e. parents, classmates, teachers etc.). They also suggested that the need for connection with others affected level of voice.

Empirical Studies of Voice

Harter and her colleagues argued that the relationship between voice and gender had not been researched using conventional empirical methods (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). They sought to investigate voice using empirical methods because they felt that the literature lacked "systematic documentation that girls actually have lower levels of voice than do boys" (Harter et al., 1997, p. 154) They also thought that past researchers had not focused on what caused a loss of voice for either gender (i.e. relational context). Harter, Waters, and Whitesell (1997) reported that individuals experienced different levels of voice in different contexts. They studied levels of voice with the variables of gender and gender orientation in order to ascertain where the differences if any, existed.

Harter, Waters, and Whitesell (1997) examined voice in different relational contexts among 12- to 18- year old boys and girls in public and private schools. Harter,

Waters, Whitesell and Kastelic (1998) also studied levels of voice in 307 boys and girls in grades 9 to 11. The questionnaire that they developed was used to assess adolescent sense of ease in expression within different relational contexts (parents, male and female classmates, close friends). They found that the relational context affected adolescents' level of voice and that both boys and girls experienced higher levels of voice with same gender peers than with opposite gender peers or adults. Unlike Brown and Gilligan (1992), Harter and her colleagues found no evidence of a decline of voice with age, using their measure of voice. In addition, they did not find significant gender differences in voice in their studies (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998).

Harter and her colleagues examined whether gender orientation affected voice in girls in an attempt to address Gilligan's idea of the "perfect girl" stereotype. They found that those girls with a feminine gender orientation reported lower levels of voice in the public context of school than androgynous girls did. However, they did not uncover differences between girls in private contexts. Harter, Waters and Whitesell (1997) stated that the "dimensions of femininity such as empathy and concern for others may well facilitate expression of voice in such close relationships" (p. 163). From their findings, they suggested that gender orientation predicted level of voice better than gender predicted level of voice in their study of girls (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997). However, Harter, Waters, Whitesell, and Kastelic (1998) reported that girls reported higher levels of voice with their female classmates and close friends than boys did. Boys reported higher levels of voice with close friends than in any other relational context considered in their study. Masculine boys had higher levels of voice with male classmates

than androgynous boys and androgynous boys, had higher levels of voice with close friends than the masculine boys.

Harter and her colleagues stated that while their findings provided valuable information, they also recommended the use of other methods, such as interviews, to broaden the focus of the research on voice (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). They refuted the work of Gilligan and her colleagues (e.g. Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990). However, unlike Sommers (2000), they did not criticize the past work in an extreme manner. Rather than condemning the past work, they sought to rectify the issues of concern by providing results from systematic research.

Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) examined gender and voice in relation to eating disorders in 233 university students, using empirical methods. In congruence with Harter, Waters, Whitesell and Kastelic (1998), they found a relationship between gender orientation and level of voice. However, Smolak and Munstertieger argued that Harter and her colleagues uncovered that women with feminine gender orientation reported loss of voice in public settings only because the researchers used feminine, masculine, and androgynous gender orientations (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). They suggested that Harter and her colleagues could not consider femininity in boys because not enough boys reported femininity in their sample. Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) proposed that the continuous variables of masculinity and femininity were more appropriate in assessing whether femininity was associated

with loss of voice for both men and women.[1]

Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) assessed levels of voice in first- and second-year students studying psychology, who were required to participate in the study for credit in their respective classes. In their study, they considered level of voice in relation to parents, men classmates, women classmates, and professors, using the Level of Voice Questionnaire (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) did not observe gender differences on the mean scores of the subscales of different relational contexts. Women with higher masculine scores reported higher levels of voice overall. Higher femininity correlated negatively with level of voice with men classmates, women classmates and professors. For men, higher masculinity also related to higher levels of voice. Men who had higher femininity scores reported lower levels of voice with professors and women classmates. Smonlak and Munstertieger indicated that their findings supported the idea that feminine orientation is associated with the need for connection in relationships and with lower levels of voice. These results also paralleled the research on imaginary audience in which Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, and Jackson (1989) reported that individuals with feminine orientation were more concerned with connection, and engaged more in imaginary audience ideation (pp. 502-503). Lapsley and his colleagues also found gender differences in that more women reported feminine gender orientation than did men.

While Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) provided valuable findings, one may argue that they used a convenience sample consisting of all psychology students who

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[1] Dr. David Musson (in personal communication, January 21, 2005) of the Human Factors Project (University of Texas, Austin) suggested that using continuous variables as reported by Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) was the most appropriate method when using the Personal Attributes Questionnaire to assess gender orientation.

were required to participate in the study. Obtaining a diverse sample requires greater effort and time on the part of the researcher, but the results might provide more information about undergraduate university students. A broad sample would have allowed researchers to uncover more information about issues related to voice in emerging adults.

Some scholars have suggested that individuals who engage in imaginary audience and experience loss of voice, focus on their connections in relationships (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). Other scholars suggested that individuals with more of a feminine gender orientation experience lower levels of voice (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002). In addition, those with feminine orientation are concerned with connection in relationships, an idea also found in literature concerning imaginary audience (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). A discussion of the literature concerning imaginary audience follows.

Imaginary Audience

David Elkind (1967) drew from the work of Erikson in formulating the term imaginary audience as part of adolescent egocentrism. He described egocentrism as "a lack of differentiation in some area of subject-object interaction" (p. 1025). In addition, he used the cognitive theory of Jean Piaget (1896-1980) to describe the progression of egocentrism. Elkind proposed that during each developmental stage as defined by Piaget (sensorimotor, pre-operational, concrete-operational, and formal-operational), the characteristics of egocentrism differed, resulting from the individual's cognitive growth

and attainment of different skills. At each progressive stage, a different form of egocentrism replaced the egocentrism from the past stage.

Elkind (1967) stated that "the adolescent is continually constructing, or reacting to, *an imaginary audience*" (p. 1030). He indicated that adolescents were both self-critical and self-admiring (p. 1030). When adolescents were self-critical, they imagined that their audience would also be critical of them. Self-admiring individuals believed that if they themselves found something attractive others would also see it as attractive. He stated that the "anticipation of how others [would] react to his [her] own demise" (p. 1030) was also common in adolescence. The adolescent concern over the evaluation of their behaviors and appearances occurred because of a preoccupation with the imaginary audience (p. 40). Elkind (1967) proposed the attenuation of adolescent egocentrism by age 15 or 16, as the adolescent was able to distinguish between his or her own self-induced pre-occupations and the ideas of other people (p. 1032). He emphasized that when formal operations were "firmly established" the imaginary audience disappeared (p. 1032).

Elkind's theory of adolescent egocentrism maintained popularity in psychology textbooks (e.g. Arnett, 2001; Kimmel & Weiner, 1985; Mitchell, 1998; Muuss, 1996; Sprinthall & Collins, 1995). However, Lapsley and Murphy (1985) contended that Elkind's view of imaginary audience was flawed. They argued that Elkind explained the attenuation of adolescent egocentrism differently than the progression of egocentrism in the previous stages. In the stages prior to the formal-operational stage, the development of skills determined the progression from one stage to another. However, in the formal-operational stage, egocentrism was not replaced; rather this egocentrism was attenuated

with "the consolidation of formal operations" (Lapsley & Murphy, 1985, p. 204). Lapsley and his colleagues argued that Elkind's assumptions of formal-operational thought were theoretically inconsistent with his description of transitions of egocentrism in stages before the formal-operational stage (Lapsley, 1985, 1993; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985). In reference to Elkind's notion of the transition of adolescent egocentrism, Lapsley and Murphy stated, "this seems to suggest that *adolescent* egocentrism is of a different order all together, and cannot therefore be easily placed in context to the ontogenetic history of egocentric transitions" (p. 203).

If Elkind proposed a transition of egocentrism from one stage to another, another stage should replace adolescent egocentrism, rather than the simple attenuation resulting from formal-operational thought. In addition to Lapsley and Murphy's argument against Elkind's notion of the diminution of egocentrism in adolescence, one may argue that that like Piaget, he assumed that cognitive growth occurs in a fixed and definite pattern, which contradicts the accepted idea of individual differences in human development. Muus (1996) pointed out that not all individuals achieve formal- operational thought, contrary to Piaget's assumptions that all human beings achieve formal-operational thought by late adolescence. In addition, though Inhelder and Piaget (1958) reported that adolescents in the formal-operational stage used the same reasoning as adults. Muus (1996) argued for qualitative differences between adults and adolescents in the formal-operational stage. Elkind's arguments about adolescent egocentrism that were marred by inconsistencies needed revisions.

Lapsley and Murphy (1985) argued that adolescent egocentrism diminished through social interaction during adolescence (p. 204). They suggested that Elkind

emphasized social interaction only during late adolescence, ignoring the social nature of human beings and development within a social context (Lapsley & Murphy, 1985). Elkind (1967) stated that

> Formal operational thought not only enables the adolescent to conceptualize his thought, it also permits him to conceptualize the thoughts of other people. It is this capacity to take account of the other people's thoughts, however, which is the crux of adolescent egocentrism (p. 1029).

He suggested that because of this ability to conceptualize the thoughts of others, adolescents were unable to differentiate between the thoughts of others and their own concerns. Lapsley and Murphy (1985) argued that if adolescents were capable of formal operational thought then they should not experience egocentric attribution error (p. 206). In Piaget's view, individuals in the formal-operational stage possessed the ability to consider the perspectives of other people. However, this view is incongruent with the assumptions of adolescent egocentrism. Lapsley and his colleagues provided a "new look" at the concept of imaginary audience and moved away from Elkind's view of adolescent egocentrism (Lapsley, 1985, 1993; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985; Lapsley, & Rice, 1988).

The "New Look" at Imaginary Audience

Goossens, Beyer, Emmem, and van Aken (2002) suggested that the "new look" provided an innovative perspective of imaginary audience. In reference to imaginary audience, Lapsley and Murphy (1985) suggested that "a more promising way of

conceptualizing imaginary audience, [was] to view it as the anticipation of the reactions of others to oneself in imaginary situations" (pp. 211-212). They emphasized that imaginary audience permitted "the adolescent to prepare and manage the affective experience of social interaction" (p. 121). Lapsley (1993) proposed a link between imaginary audience, social-cognitive development, and the process of separation and individuation. Lapsley and Murphy (1985) suggested that role-taking ability and interpersonal understanding as described by Selman (1980) allowed for a better explanation of imaginary audience. Selman (1980) suggested that during early adolescence, the individual was capable of taking a third-person perspective. He said that this third-person perspective enabled "the adolescent to abstractly step outside an interpersonal interaction and simultaneously and mutually consider the perspectives (and their interaction) of self and other(s)" (p. 39). Lapsley and Murphy (1985) indicated that during this stage, the individual "can see himself/herself as both actor and object" (p. 209), promoting a heightened sense of self-awareness and self-consciousness. Adolescents could think of themselves and the reactions of others in hypothetical situations, which might generate the use of imaginary audience.

Lapsley and Murphy (1985) proposed that imaginary audience ideation declined in late adolescence when the individual was able to consider and compare multiple perspectives without engaging in self-analysis. Contrary to the social-cognitive perspective of imaginary audience as proposed by Lapsley and Murphy, some researchers argued that imaginary audience might not be unique to adolescence (Vartanian, 2000, p. 656). Lapsley (1993) also suggested that imaginary audience or object relational ideation could continue beyond adolescence.

Daniel Lapsley and his colleagues mentioned separation-individuation as an important feature of adolescence (Lapsley, 1993; Lapsley, Fitzgerald, Rice & Jackson, 1989). During the process of individuation, the adolescent moved away from childhood identity, affecting the individual's sense of interpersonal relationship with parents and others. He indicated that the adolescent needed to renegotiate family relationships in an attempt to establish a balance between separation and connectedness (p. 565). Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, and Jackson (1989) articulated that "imaginary audience was positively related to object relational concerns" (p. 501), and that individuals using imaginary audience experienced issues such as separation anxiety, fear of close interpersonal relationships, dependency, and enmeshment (pp. 489-490). They reported that imaginary audience occurred as a part of object-relations, and speculated that imaginary audience related to feminine themes of connectedness, communion, and attachment, proposed by some feminists who focused on loss of voice in adolescents (e.g. Gilligan, 1982). Lapsley (1993) made direct reference to the work of Gilligan (1982) concerning voice in his discussion of feminine themes and imaginary audience use. Other researchers reported gender differences and feminine gender orientation as related to imaginary audience (Peterson & Roscoe, 1991; Ryan & Kuszkowski, 1994). Scholars have suggested that this sense of connectedness and communion might continue into adulthood (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990; Lapsley, 1993: Vartanian, 2000). Therefore, it is highly possible that emerging adults have experiences related to imaginary audience and voice.

The Internet and Imaginary Audience

The advent of the Internet has changed our methods of accessing information and communicating with one another like never before. In a recent study called the *Canadian Internet Project*, Zamaria, Caron and Fletcher (2005) reported that 72% of Canadians used the Internet with an average of 13.5 hours per week online. In addition, Rotermann (2001) reported that Canadians aged 15-24 used e-mail as their main Internet activity, followed by searching for information on goods and services, using chat services, and playing games (pp. 5-6). We can "surf the net" for information or use e-mail, Internet messaging, and other forms of computer mediated communication to maintain contact with more people than ever before. We can contact people we have never met or have conversations with friends and family, and use it for work or leisure.

Unlike the telephone, some applications of Internet communication do not require that the receiver be present on the other end when individuals send their messages. Though we may know the receiver, we may also communicate with people unknown to us. Internet communication provides a medium where people may mask their identities, behave in various ways, and communicate information with greater ease than ever before (Bargh & McKenna, 2004; Ben-Ze'ev, 2003; Carter, 2004; Dibbell, 1998; Fox & Roberts, 1999; Lewis, 2001; McCloud, 2001; Schiesel, 1997). For example, some individuals engage in gaming activities in which they are able to remain anonymous because they take on different identities while in cyberspace (Carter, 2004; Dibbell, 1998; McCloud, 2001; Schiesel, 1997). There have also been cases of individuals who have changed their identity on the Internet, posing as expert stockbrokers and legal experts, only to dupe those whom they were advising (Lewis, 2001). Whether we use e-mail, chat

rooms, or other forms of Internet communication, there is greater possibility for anonymity than in other forms of communication between people.

Some researchers who have studied Internet communication have suggested that the sense of anonymity allows for greater self-expression, while maintaining privacy (Bargh & McKenna, 2004; Beb-Ze'ev, 2003). Ben-Ze'ev (2003) also argued that Internet relationships "are to a certain degree imaginary, as they lack some fundamental characteristics of face-to face relationships" (p. 457). He proposed that when people engaged in online conversations, they controlled the content and how much information they chose to reveal to others.

The Internet has influenced the ways in which many people communicate and/or socialize with others. One may communicate with others, both known and unknown to us, whether they are in the same location or across the globe. The receiver does not need to be present to acquire messages sent to him or her. The sender can be known or anonymous, supply or alter information, or even withhold information like never before. Given the issues surrounding anonymity and the Internet and the notion of the sender, receiver, and audience, it is possible that the Internet has also influenced the use of imaginary audience, as set forth by past researchers (Elkind, 1967; Lapsley, 1985, 1993; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985; Lapsley & Rice, 1988). Researchers who consider the use of imaginary audience would benefit from exploring whether and how imaginary audience affects Internet communication among individuals of all age groups.

Emerging Adulthood

Psychologists and educators have long been interested in theories and concepts that enhance the understanding of individuals within various periods of human development. Historically, many theorists assumed that critical tasks that prepare the individual for adulthood occurred during the period of adolescence. Arnett (1994, 2000, 2006) proposed that societal trends over time created shifts in the industrialized nations, allowing individuals to prolong their progression toward adulthood.

Arnett suggested that preparation for adulthood and tasks that were once crucial during adolescence now occur in a distinct period called emerging adulthood. Arnett indicated that emerging adulthood commences around age 18 and continues into a person's twenties and that emerging adults do not perceive themselves either as adolescents or as adults. Arnett (2004) suggested that emerging adulthood might continue into the late twenties for some individuals (p. 24).[2] Recently Tanner (2006) also reported that emerging adulthood spans between the ages of 18 to 29 years (p. 22). Arnett and Taber (1994) described emerging adulthood as "the period between a time a person considers him/or herself to have begun the transition to adulthood and the time when a person considers him/or herself to have become fully adult cognitively, emotionally, and behaviorally" (p. 534).

Reifman, Arnett, and Colwell (2003) and Arnett (2004) provided five features of emerging adulthood, including identity exploration, instability, self-focus, a feeling in-between adulthood and adolescence, and an age of possibilities (Arnett, 2004, p. 9). In

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[2] Arnett (2004) indicated that he considered individuals aged 18-29 in his research. Therefore, in order to remain consistent with Arnett, and in consideration of individual diversity, I also considered individuals between 18-29 years of age. Information may also be found at http://www.jeffreyarnett.com/articles.htm

addition, some have suggested that relationships change during emerging adulthood. Individuals begin to develop closer intimate relationships, and relationships with parents become more positive for many individuals when they are more independent of their parents (Arnett, 2000, 2004; Beyers & Goossens, 2003; Lapsley, Rice, & FitzGerald, 1990; Lefkowitz, 2005; Montgomery & Coté, 2003).

While completing one's education, marriage, parenthood, and entering the workforce have traditionally defined adulthood, more recently emerging adults use self-responsibility, independent decision-making, and financial independence as defining criteria for adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2001, 2004; Arnett & Galambos, 2003; Arnett & Taber, 1994). Arnett (2000) provided a caveat concerning the study of emerging adults. He suggested that researchers have a great opportunity to study individuals within this "rich, complex, dynamic period of life" (p. 477), but they need to recognize the diversity of those within this developmental period.

Arnett (2000) indicated that over the past fifty years demographic shifts resulting in delayed marriage and parenthood have enabled individuals to prolong life explorations during emerging adulthood. He suggested:

> Emerging adults often explore a variety of possible life directions in love, work and in worldviews. Emerging adulthood is a time of life when many different directions remain possible and when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life's possibilities is greater for most people than any other period of the life course (p. 459).

Arnett (2000, 2005) advocated a need for more researchers and scholars to focus on emerging adulthood. Recently, those researchers who have considered emerging adulthood have examined diverse factors concerning this distinct period of development including: the personality of emerging adults and childhood antecedents (Shiner, Masten, & Tellegen, 2004), communication about sex with friends (Lefowitz, Boone, & Shearer, 2004), conversations about romantic relationships among young men (Korobov & Thorne, 2006), friendships (Radmacher & Azmiti, 2006), lying to parents (Jensen, Arnett, Feldman, & Cauffman, 2004), depression (Berry, 2004; Nelson & Barry, 2005), personality and health risks (Shifren, Furnham, & Bauserman, 2003), suicide (Everall, Bostik, & Paulsen, 2006), mental health (Schulenberg & Zarrett, 2006), balancing autonomy and community (Arnett, Ramos, & Jensen, 2001), relationships with family and support systems (Aquilino, 2006), emerging adulthood in relation to globalization, race, culture, and ethnicity (Arnett, 2002; Arnett, 2003; Arnett & Galambos, 2003; Facio & Miococci, 2003; Mayseless & Sharf, 2003; Phinney, 2006; Sharf, Mayseless, & Kivenson-Baron, 2004), the perceived roles of emerging adults and adults (Nelson & Barry, 2005), chronological and subjective age in emerging adults (Galambos, Turner, Tilton-Weaver, 2005), religiosity (Arnett & Jensen, 2002; Nelson, 2003), university attrition (Wintre, Bowers, Gordner & Lange, 2006), and the transition to university (Wintre & Yaffe, 2000; Montgomery & Coté, 2003; Lefokowitz, 2005).

Emerging Adults at University

Arnett (2000, 2004) indicated that many more emerging adults pursue a post-secondary education than ever before. Statistics Canada (2005) reported that 776,885 undergraduate students (full-time and part-time) enrolled at Canadian Universities in

2003-2004. Furthermore, the campus environment provides an arena for exploration, in which most university students strive for academic success. However, some emerging adults find the transition into the university environment a challenge (Weinstein, 1988). Lowe and Cook (2003) said that many some students experience challenges when moving from a teacher- and parent-controlled environment, into the university environment where they meet expectations of self-directedness concerning their education and social life. Their ideas are congruent with Arnett's theory of emerging adulthood, in that most individuals strive to be self-directed (autonomous), yet also aim to maintain a balanced connection with others (relatedness) while in pursuit of academic success and higher education. Some researchers considered issues of attachment with parents in relation to one's adjustment to university, indicating that the separation from parents that occurred naturally contributed to a healthy adjustment to university (Arnett, 2004; Arnett & Taber, 1994; Beyers & Goossens, 2003; Lapsley, Rice, & FitzGerald, 1990; Montgomery & Coté, 2003). In addition, Scharf, Mayseless, and Kivenson-Baron (2004) emphasized that those who are autonomous are able to establish and maintain "close, intimate and trustworthy relationships, not only with their attachment figures, but also with other people, such as friends and romantic partners" (p. 43). Others also discussed the development of intimate relationships among university-aged students (Lefkowitz, 2005; Montgomery & Coté, 2003). Neff and Harter (2003) stressed the balance between autonomy and connectedness in the development of healthy relationships. Aquilino (2006) also indicated that parent-child relationships have great impact on emerging adults' relationships, and that a healthy balance between autonomy and connectedness is desirable. Lefkowitz (2005) suggested that the balance between

autonomy and connectedness might occur after the emerging adult has made the transition to the university environment. She focused on the change in relationships with parents among emerging adults. In addition, Montgomery and Coté (2003) suggested a strong relationship between academic success and social adjustment (p. 160).

Emerging Adults and Academic Success

Academic success is an important goal for university students. Academic institutions often gauge this success using grade point averages, also known as GPA (Beck & Davidson, 2000, DeBernard, Spielmans, & Julka, 2004; Chow, 2003; Strage, 1999). Researchers have indicated that more self-regulated individuals tended to attain academic success (Black & Deci, 2000; Ley & Young, 1998; Weinstein, 1988; Zimmerman, 2002). Zimmerman (2002) stated that self-regulation included seeking help when necessary and having clear goals. In addition, others suggested that motivation, effort, and involvement predicted academic success (Montgomery & Coté, 2003; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Black and Deci (2000) proposed that the interpersonal context could influence the individual's performance. Drysdale, Ross, and Schulz (2001) reported that those with higher grade point averages were more likely to complete a degree than those with lower grade point averages, and both the student and the environment affected learning. Strauss and Volkwein (2002) suggested that interpersonal issues, classroom atmosphere, and student effort predicted student success. Noldon and Sedlacek (1998, ¶ 1) stated that individuals who attend university had similar issues "such as establishing identity, seeking autonomy, and achieving competence regardless of academic talent".

The question of why some individuals achieve academic success and others are at risk of failure and possible withdrawal remains a concern among educators and researchers (Black & Deci, 2000; Drysdale, Ross, & Schulz, 2001; Johnson, 1994; Lowe & Cook, 2003; Woo & Frank, 2000). Given Montgomery and Coté's suggestion that social adjustment, motivation, and effort relate to academic success, one may question whether issues such as voice and imaginary audience affect academic success since academic success may be affected by social adjustment.

Rationale for the Study

Gilligan (1982) brought the omission of girls and women in psychological research to the forefront and argued for their inclusion in research. Her work has been particularly influential in the areas of developmental psychology and education and to the popular media. Gilligan and her colleagues reported that during the progression from childhood to adolescence, girls experienced a loss of voice in which they experienced a "struggle over speaking and not speaking, knowing and not knowing, feeling and not feeling" (p. 4). In their view, loss of voice continued into adulthood and occurred because of a desired need to maintain relationships and connections with others.

Despite the widespread acceptance of the notion of loss of voice, the work of Gilligan and her colleagues was subjected to strong criticism. Critics pointed out that Gilligan and her colleagues' omitted boys from their research in their attempt to address the need for research with girls (Eaken, 2001; Gerstel, 2001; Goldberg, 2002; Gould, 2001; Sommers, 2000; Simpson, 1995). In addition, they argued that Gilligan and her colleagues used a biased sample since the girls interviewed were all from private schools

and were therefore not representative of the population of North American girls. Though the work of Gilligan and her colleagues received harsh criticism, few researchers attempted to follow-up on their criticisms in their own research. However, Susan Harter and her colleagues raised the issues concerning the methods used by Gilligan and her colleagues and provided alternative research in their studies of voice in boys and girls using empirical research methods (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). They found that that gender orientation was a better predictor of voice than gender alone, indifferent relational contexts. Harter and her colleagues studied adolescent boys and girls in private and public schools (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). Unlike Brown and Gilligan (1992), they did not observe a decline of voice with the progression of adolescence. Harter and her colleagues did not study individuals beyond adolescence and thus they could not indicate whether issues concerning voice continued beyond adolescence.

Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) studied level of voice in mostly first- and second- year psychology students. They reported that gender orientation related to voice rather than gender alone. They felt that researchers needed to study gender orientation as continuous variables of masculinity and femininity. However, Smolak and Munstertieger limited their sample to a specific group of students who were required to participate in the study to receive course credits. In order to increase the diversity of the sample to be representative of more university students, Smolak and Munstertieger could have included more than first- and second- year psychology students in their study. Perhaps they should have surveyed individuals from different stages of their studies and those

from different faculties. However, Smolak and Munstertieger's research provided evidence for issues concerning levels of voice beyond adolescence.

While Elkind (1967) introduced imaginary audience as part of adolescent egocentrism, Lapsley and Murphy (1985) contended that imaginary audience had a natural social function for individuals. Lapsley (1993) and Vartanian (2000) proposed that imaginary audience might occur beyond adolescence, just as Gilligan and her colleagues stated that issues with voice might extend beyond adolescence (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982). Vartanian and Powlishta (2001) emphasized that researchers should not use self-report measures alone with individuals beyond adolescence and should consider using alternative methods, such as interviews.

Scholars have hinted at a relationship between voice and imaginary audience as they relate to the need for connection among individuals (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). Lapsley (1993) said, "the concern with relationships and with connectedness and the anxiety over their potential loss is bound up with IA (object relational) ideations" (p. 568).[3] In addition, connectedness related to what he called "feminine developmental themes" (p. 568). While researchers have studied imaginary audience and voice in adolescents as separate constructs, and clearly identified issues concerning voice and imaginary audience in adolescence, few researchers have focused on these constructs with individuals beyond adolescence. In addition, though scholars have suggested that there is a relationship between issues concerning voice, such as connection in relationships and imaginary audience, researchers have not examined the link between these constructs, using either qualitative or quantitative methods. This fact alone warrants

[3] Lapsley (1993) used the abbreviation IA to represent imaginary audience.

an investigation of the relationship between imaginary audience and voice. In addition, Arnett (2000) proposed that during emerging adulthood many individuals prolong their identity development and explore their future direction and worldviews (p. 459). He said that emerging adulthood is a self-focused period in which individuals develop relationships, prepare for future careers, and engage in other personally meaningful explorations. Many emerging adults attend post-secondary institutions, where they pursue academic success, prepare for future careers, and develop different types of relationships.

Given that adulthood is a distinct period beyond adolescence, it is then imperative to study imaginary audience and voice in emerging adults in order to ascertain whether these constructs are relevant to them. In addition, it is important to consider variables of significance to emerging adults such as academic success, and to investigate whether these variables are related to the constructs of voice and imaginary audience.

Given the possible relationship between imaginary audience and voice, and the suggestions for future research and the gaps in the existing literature, it was of benefit to conduct exploratory research with qualitative and quantitative methods. Mixed methods allowed the researcher to employ existing measures in order to assess level of voice and imaginary audience among emerging adults and to explore the issues as experienced by emerging adults. It was beneficial to consider the relationship of gender and gender orientation to voice and imaginary audience with emerging adults as found in the existent literature. It was also beneficial to consider other relevant variables of interest in order to understand issues related to emerging adults. The theories and past research provided a strong foundation for the researcher to formulate the following research questions to examine voice and imaginary audience in emerging adults.

Research Questions

The research questions below called for an investigation into the relationships between level of voice and imaginary audience. Other factors considered in some of the analyses include gender, gender orientation, and grade point standing. A brief description of the researcher's expectations for this study follows each below each of the research questions.

1. ***What is the relationship between gender, grade point average standing (low, medium and high GPA), and scores on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation for the overall sample?***

Given the suggestions concerning a relationship between voice and imaginary audience, the researcher expected to find significant correlations between scores on the Level of Voice Questionnaire in different relational contexts and scores on the New Imaginary Audience Scale. In addition, the researcher expected correlations between voice in different contexts and gender orientation rather than correlations between voice and gender as found in the more recent literature concerning voice (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002). The researcher also expected a positive correlation between voice and GPA, assuming that those with higher GPA also experienced greater ease of expression in different relational contexts.

2. ***Will scores of undergraduate emerging adult men and women differ significantly on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation?***

Researchers have found no gender differences in voice, which lead the researcher of this study to expect that she too would not find gender differences in level of voice in emerging adults either (see Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). In addition, given the suggested connection between imaginary audience and voice, the researcher did not expect gender differences for imaginary audience. However, differences in gender orientation for both imaginary audience, as suggested by Lapsley (1993), and level of voice (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell & Kastelic, 1998; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002) were expected.

3. ***Are there differences among undergraduate emerging adults based on their grade point average and scores on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation?***

Scholars have suggested a relationship between voice and imaginary audience ideation (e.g. Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian 2000), both of which are assumed to have social functions related to social interaction. Others have indicated that social adjustment relates to academic success (e.g. Montgomery & Coté 2003). If academic success, imaginary audience, and level of voice relate to social adjustment, the researcher expected differences among students with different grade point averages on scores of imaginary audience and level of voice. The researcher expected those individuals with lower GPA to engage in more imaginary audience ideation and have lower levels of voice than those with higher GPA.

4. ***Do the combined variables of gender and grade point average affect level of voice and imaginary audience, and gender orientation?***

The researcher expected differences for GPA on scores of voice, imaginary audience and gender orientation. However, she did not expect to find an interaction between gender and GPA on level of voice and imaginary audience given past researchers' findings concerning to voice (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998) and the suggestions of a connection between voice and imaginary audience (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000).

5. ***What are the experiences of a limited number of participants concerning voice and imaginary audience?***

Given that this question required the use of qualitative research methods, the researcher wanted the information provided by the participants to guide the research and analyses. Therefore, the researcher did not establish specific predictions, except for the possible relationship between imaginary audience and voice. However, throughout the analyses the researcher continued to reflect on the data and her potential biases in order to ensure that she could acknowledge her biases, and remain open to the issues that were pertinent to the participants involved allowing us to hear their voices.

The use of research questions fits the methods and the exploratory nature of the study. This study was not an experimental study in which researchers generally predict results through hypotheses prior to experimentation. Thus, questions and expectations, rather than hypotheses, were more appropriate for this study as the results served to expand our knowledge of the concepts under investigation and to answer questions asked

by the researcher despite her expectations. Lastly, using research questions allowed the researcher to combine questions that involved the use of qualitative and quantitative research methods into one larger study. The use of research questions is particularly suitable in the area of developmental psychology since there is little or no information about the variables under investigation. The research questions posed by the researcher provided a cogent guide for the method of the research and analyses of data obtained reported and discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Imaginary audience and voice are familiar terms to those who study adolescent development. Some researchers associated the need for connection in relationships as found in loss of voice to the use of imaginary audience ideation, and suggested that this need may continue beyond adolescence (Lapsley, 1993: Vartanian, 2000). However, these researchers have not studied this relationship using either qualitative and/or quantitative research methods. Arnett (1994, 2000, 2004, 2006b) also argued that individuals might prolong issues of identity formation beyond adolescence into a period of development called emerging adulthood spanning from about age 18 into one's twenties. Arnett described emerging adulthood as a "self-focused" period of life where individuals explore their roles in social settings and in different relationships. He argued that more research was needed in all areas that concern emerging adulthood in order to further our understanding of this period of development, thus making research concerning imaginary audience and voice in emerging adults most beneficial.

The dearth of knowledge about the relationship between imaginary audience and voice, and about the effect that these concepts have on the lives of emerging adults allowed the researcher to use exploratory research employing qualitative and quantitative methods. The researcher drew on existing theory and literature as a foundation for new research. Qualitative and quantitative methods were advantageous in investigating the relationship between these concepts and actual experiences of emerging adults concerning imaginary audience and voice.

Arnett (2005) stated, "I like to think of quantitative data as the bones and qualitative data as the flesh. Both are required to make whole human beings" (p. 4). The

quantitative methods used in this study allowed the researcher to draw on existing instruments and to consider the variables of gender, gender orientation, and academic success in relation to imaginary audience and voice using measurement instruments. The qualitative methods allowed the researcher to explore the experiences of emerging adult's concerning imaginary audience and voice, which was unlike the information obtained through quantitative methods.

Researchers who conduct quantitative studies rely on numerical data in order to generate descriptive and comparative information. However, in qualitative research, the researcher is the main instrument for data analysis (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992), and he or she presents the results of the qualitative analysis through words. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods together in one study can be complex, and time consuming, requiring the management of enormous amounts of information. However, such methods allow the researcher to explore the questions of concern in a more comprehensive manner than using one method alone. Morse (2002) stated,

> By combining and increasing the number of research strategies used within a particular project, we are able to broaden the dimensions and hence the scope of our project. By using more than one method within a research study, we are able to obtain a more complete picture of human behavior and experience. Thus, we are able to hasten our understanding and achieve our research goals more quickly. (p. 189)

The research questions posed at the end of Chapter 2 of this dissertation required the use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The concepts of imaginary audience and voice had never been studied together, using either qualitative or

quantitative methods. Furthermore, researchers had not examined these concepts with emerging adults, making it beneficial to study these concepts using qualitative and quantitative methods within one study. I have provided separate descriptions of the quantitative and the qualitative methods in the following sections below.

Quantitative Method

A description of the sample used within this study, the process and procedures, measures, and ethics informed consent and confidentiality follow within this section.

Sample

Undergraduate men (n =92) and women students (n =249) enrolled at a large western Canadian university volunteered for this study. In total, 341 individuals completed questionnaire packages used in this study. In addition, the researcher received seven questionnaire packages with large incomplete or incorrect portions. The researcher eliminated these seven packages from the study, as she could not code large portions of information required to analyze the data. The researcher retained packages with small bits of missing information as she could take into account the missing information within the analyses of the data.

All of the participants were between age 18 to 29 (M= 20.75, S.D. = 2.02). The researcher recruited students from various faculties and classes, including Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics (8.8%), Arts (21.7%), Business (.6%), Education (21.7%), Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences (.6%), Physical Education and Recreation (.9%), Faculté St. Jean (.3%), Science (19.6%), and Other (26.7%), in order to provide more of a representative sample of students enrolled at the university.

Participants within this study were first-year (1.5%), second-year (43.1%), third-year (32.6%), and fourth-year (14.7%) students, those students who were not enrolled in a specific year (7.9%), and those who were beyond their fourth year of study (7.3%). One participant neglected to indicate his or her year of study at the time of the study. The majority (98%) of students had full-time status. All participation in this study (using quantitative and qualitative methods) was voluntary, and all participants gave their consent to participate.

Among the participants in this study, 86.8 % of participants were single, 3.2 % were married, 3.8 % were living common-law with a partner, 0.3 % were divorced, and 5.9 % indicated that they were involved in other relationships (long-term, engaged, etc.). The majority of participants (98.5%) reported that they did not have children. 95.4% hoped to marry at some time, 92% hoped to have children, 39.6 % reported living with parents, 25.2 % in an apartment, 12 % in a rented house, 9.4 % in a dormitory, 3.2 % in an owned house, and 10.6 % in other living situations (boarding house, cooperative houses, etc). Concerning financial support, 18.8 % of participants supported themselves entirely, 19.9 % received full support from parents, 50.4 % received partial support from their parents, and 10.9 % received support from sources other than parents (spouse, grandparents etc.). In this sample, 2.6 % of participants worked full-time, 44.3% worked part-time, and 53.1 % did not have a job at the time of the study.

When asked about nationality, 91.2% of participants identified themselves as Canadians. In a question concerning where participants grew up, 55.7% of participant reported that they grew up in a city, 27.6% in a town, 8.8% on a farm, and 7% reported growing up in different settings. Concerning language, 88% of participants indicated that

English was their first language. In response to a question concerning ethnicity, 31.7% identified themselves as Canadian only. However, 38.1% provided a hyphenated ethnicity with Canadian (e.g. French-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian etc.). 24.6% identified an ethnicity other than Canadian and 5.6% did not respond to this question. When asked how much they identified with their ethnicity, 41.1% indicated that they identified with their ethnicity fully, 20.5% partly (about 50%), 22.9% partly (less than 50%), and 12% reported that they did not identify with their ethnicity at all.

The researcher asked the participants to identify how they used the Internet. First, 98.5% of participants reported using the Internet. When asked how they used the Internet participants indicated: 98.2% used it for E-mail, 37.5% for work, 86.2 % in the library, 33% for job seeking, 3.2% for Internet dating, 28.4% for shopping, 41.2% for chats with known audiences, 8.5% for chats with unknown audiences, 28.4% for gaming, and 51.6% of indicated that they used the Internet for other purposes including travel bookings, pornography, and research.

Concerning their beliefs about adulthood 72.6% of participants indicated, "in some respects yes and in some respects no" when asked whether they felt that they reached adulthood. Some participants (24.1 %) reported feeling that they achieved adulthood and others reported they had not (3.2 %). Three questions asked on the Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2003) found in Appendix G of this study also addressed the participants' beliefs about adulthood. In response to the question "is this period of your life a time of feeling adult in some ways but not in others?," 2.6% strongly disagreed, 10% somewhat disagreed, 31.1% somewhat agreed, and 56.3 % of participants strongly agreed. In response to the

question "is this period of your life a time of gradually becoming an adult?," 1.8% strongly disagreed, 6.2% disagreed, 34.6 % somewhat agreed, and 57.5 % of participants strongly agreed. On the last item pertaining to adulthood, "is this period of your life a time of being not sure of whether you have reached full adulthood?" 8.2% strongly disagreed, 22.3 percent disagreed, 35.5% somewhat agreed, 33.7% strongly agreed. The researcher conducted a correlation analysis of the three items concerning adulthood from the Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood with the question about feelings about adulthood on the personal information sheet, distributed by the researcher. She found negative relationships between adulthood and feeling in-between. "Is this period of your life a time of feeling adult in some ways but not in others?" and the question about feelings about adulthood resulted in a moderate negative correlation (r= -.31). The question "is this period of your life a time of gradually becoming an adult?" and the feelings about adulthood resulted in a weaker correlation (r = -.26), and "is this period of your life a time of being not sure of whether you have reached full adulthood?" and feelings about adulthood resulted in a correlation of r = -.28. Higher scores of feeling in-between were associated with a decreased sense of adulthood.

Process and Procedures

The researcher collected all of the data during the 2003-2004 academic year. First, she described the study to professors and instructors.[4] Upon obtaining permission from the professors and instructors, the researcher attended classes, provided students with a

[4] The researcher obtained professors' names from Dr. Gretchen Hess and by directly contacting various professors at the University whose names she obtained from the campus telephone directory.

general description of the study, and asked for volunteers. All students who chose to volunteer in the study provided their consent to participate. All volunteers received a package containing information about the study, a copy of the consent form for their own reference (Appendix A), questionnaires (Appendices D-G), and a personal information survey (Appendix B).[5] The participants returned completed packages to the researcher in sealed envelopes. The researcher also included information about interviews in the questionnaire packages and requested that individuals interested in participating in the interview process identify themselves providing the researcher their contact information (Appendix C). The researcher analyzed the information that participants returned in the questionnaire packages and from the personal survey using descriptive, univariate and multivariate statistical analyses.

Percentages, means and standard deviations were used to describe the participants and their overall scores on the questionnaires and the researcher conducted correlation analyses to verify any relationships and ascertain the strength of relationships among the various subscales in the questionnaires, gender, and GPA. In addition, the researcher compared several dependent variables simultaneously with independent variables using Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to investigate the possible interactions and differences between the variables considered in this study. As a follow-up to the MANOVA, the researcher used Analysis of variance (ANOVA) in which she examined each dependent variable separately with the independent variables (Hummel & Sligo, 1971).

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[5] Questions pertaining to emerging adulthood were adapted from Arnett & Taber (1994), with permission from Dr. Jeffrey Arnett (in personal communication, March 30, 2004).

Measures

Measures used in this study included the New Imaginary Audience Scale (NIAS: Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989) found in Appendix D, the Level of Voice Questionnaire (Harter, Waters, Whitesell & Kastelic, 1998) found in Appendix E, the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ: Spence & Helmreich, 1978) found in Appendix F, and The Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (IDEA: Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2003) found in Appendix G. The researcher obtained permission to use all of the measures used in this study.

The New Imaginary Audience Scale (NIAS)
(Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989)

The New Imaginary Audience Scale (NIAS) assesses "the extent to which subjects engage in object relational ideation, interpersonal fantasies, and 'visions of self'" (Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989, p. 491). This scale consists of 42 items and individuals rate items on a 4-point scale with higher scores indicating greater probability of engaging in imaginary audience behaviours. A score of 168 is the highest obtainable score on this scale.

Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, and Jackson (1989) reported that this measure demonstrated strong internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .92$). Vartanian (1997) reported reliability of .95 using the NIAS. In addition, Goosens, Beyers, Emmem, and van Aken (2002) conducted a study on Belgian adolescents, using both a 42-item and a 30-item version of the NIAS. They suggested a high internal consistency for both versions. For the 30-item version, they reported $\alpha = .88$, and for the 42-item version $\alpha = .87$. They also found a correlation of .97 between these two versions of the NIAS. In this study, the

researcher found measures of reliability for the NIAS of $\alpha = .89$, consistent with Goosens, Beyers, Emmem, and van Aken. Published studies using the NIAS considered male and female adolescent samples (Goosens, Beyers, Emmem, & van Aken, 2002; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989; Vartanian, 1997). Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice and Jackson (1989) considered aspects related to masculinity and femininity based on questions within the New Imaginary Audience Scale and New Personal Fable Scale (Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson, 1989). These researchers suggested that those who had higher scores on the NIAS reflected a more feminine orientation. However, none of these researchers used any measures to assess gender orientation. They did report that girls scored higher on the NIAS than boys did.

Little published information about the validity of the NIAS exists. Dr. Lisa Rae Vartanian (in personal communication, May 28, 2003) suggested that this lacuna exists because many researchers have only observed the connection of imaginary audience to another construct called personal fable. Dr. Daniel Lapsley (in personal communication, May 24, 2003) said that Vartanian had conducted most of the research on the NIAS. Both Vartaninan and Lapsley strongly advocated the use of the NIAS. Dr. Lisa Rae Vartanian (in personal communication, May 28, 2003) emphasized that the "NIAS is an established measure that has demonstrated sound psychometric properties." Vartanian (1997) also suggested that results of multiple regression analyses indicated that an individual's need for connection, concerning separation-individuation with others predicted use of object-relational ideation (p. 263) and that imaginary audience correlated strongly with issues of separation-individuation. These findings are positive and add to the validity of imaginary audience, measured by the NIAS. Vartanian (2000) proposed that the concept of

imaginary audience needed further investigation among individuals other than adolescents and argued that imaginary audience ideation may not be restricted to the period of adolescence (p. 656).

Level of Voice Questionnaire (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic. 1998)[6]

Harter, Waters, Whitesell and Kastelic (1998) developed a questionnaire to study level of voice in adolescents using quantitative research methods. Harter, Waters, and Whitesell (1997) and Harter, Waters, Whitesell and Kastelic (1998) used this measure in studies of level of voice in relation to gender orientation, age, and different relational contexts. Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) adopted their scale in their study considering voice and eating disorders. They considered level of voice with parents, women classmates, men classmates and professors. In the present study, the researcher also used the same contexts as Smolak and Munstertieger. The acronym of LVS (level of Voice Scale) was used on the questionnaire to identify the Level of Voice Questionnaire (Harter, Waters, Whitesell & Kastelic, 1998). Individuals rated Level of Voice Questionnaire items on a 4-point scale. A rating of four indicated the highest level of voice. The questionnaire consisted of five questions for each relational context. Thus, the highest possible score for each context was 20 (5 questions multiplied by 4, the highest level of voice). Dr. Susan Harter (in personal communication, September 6, 2002) suggested that one could alter words and incorporate different relational contexts in this

[6] This questionnaire has been used by different authors (Harter, 1995; Harter et al, 1997; Hater et al., 1998; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002.) under different titles. When asked about how to reference the scale, Dr. Susan Harter (in personal communication, March 11, 2003) referred to Harter, Whitesell, and Kastelic (1998), where they identified the questionnaire as Level of Voice Questionnaire and suggested that I should also use this name when writing about the questionnaire.

scale that were appropriate for the sample under consideration. To ensure that the questionnaire was appropriate for a university-aged sample, the researcher used the contexts used by Smolak and Munstertieger. The researcher replaced the word *teenage* from the original questionnaire, with the word *people*.

Harter, Waters, Whitesell and Kastelic (1998) provided evidence for the reliability and validity of the Level of Voice Questionnaire. In studies of 12 to 18 year old students, Harter, Waters, and Whitesell (1997) reported internal consistencies ranging from .82 to .91. Harter, Waters, Whitesell and Kastelic reported internal consistencies across relational contexts between .86 and .89. They added items to the questionnaire and found the reliabilities ranged from .84 and .92. Smolak and Munstertieger (2002) reported internal consistencies of α = .85 and .89 for women, and for men α = .79 and .86 (p. 236) thus indicating moderate to high consistency of this questionnaire. In this study, the researcher found, the following measures for each relational construct: α = .87 for parents, α = .90 for women classmates, α = .90 for men classmates, and α = .90 for professors, thus suggesting high reliability for this measure. Harter, Waters, Whitesell, and Kastelic indicated that they considered construct validity in determining whether adolescents use false-self behavior when they lack voice among adolescents (p. 895). They reported that 75% of adolescents viewed their loss of voice as in relation to false-self behaviour (p. 895). Dr. Susan Harter (in personal communication, May 9, 2003) suggested that this measure has construct validity in that she and her colleagues (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998) developed a model that "predicted that social support for voice would predict level of voice." In addition, the data supported their hypotheses from their studies of adolescent boys and girls in middle- and high-school. In

addition, Dr. Susan Harter (in personal communication, May 9, 2003) reported that they established factorial validity, through factor analysis of each different relationship used indicating "a clean factor pattern where each different relationship defines a separate factor". Although Harter and her colleagues, and Smolak and Munstertieger studied individuals in academic environments, neither considered academic success in relation to level of voice.

Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ: Spence & Helmreich, 1978)

The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) is used to assess "the psychological dimensions of masculinity and femininity" (Spence & Helmreich, 1978, p. 19). Hill, Fekken, and Bond (2000) suggested that "the PAQ is one of the pre-eminent measures of gender specific personality characteristics" (p. 234) and Lenney (1991) suggested that the PAQ allows the researcher to use "homogenous factorially pure scales" (p. 578) known as the instrumental (masculine) and expressive (feminine) scales. The PAQ is used to assess "clusters of socially desirable attributes stereotypically considered to differentiate masculinity and femininity, and thus define the psychological core of masculine and feminine personalities" (Spence & Helmreich, p. 3). On the 24-item PAQ instrument, respondents are asked to rate themselves on a 5-point scale bipolar in nature (masculine on one end and feminine on the other end). The instrument is made up of three scales, which are Masculinity (M), Femininity (F), and Masculinity-Femininity (M-F) each of which consists of eight items. The M scale includes items deemed stereotypically desirable for men whereas the F scale consists of items stereotypically desirable for women. Respondents rate themselves between zero and four on each item (or between A

and E in the alphabet). An extreme score on the M scale indicate an "extreme masculine response" (p. 32), and an extreme score on the F scales indicates an "extreme feminine response" (p. 32). The total score can be obtained by adding up the individual items in each scale. Spence (1993) indicates that M items refer to stereotypical "instrumental, traits" and that F items refer to "expressive traits" (p. 626).

The original PAQ consisted of 55-items (Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1975). However, Spence and Helmreich (1978) developed a shorter 24-item version of the scale, which is used in most research using the PAQ (Lenney, 1991). Spence and Helmreich (1978) presented correlations of .93 (M), .93 (F), and .91 (M-F) between the original 55-item scale and the shortened 24-item version on a college student sample. They also reported Cronbach alphas (α) of .85 (M), .82 (F) and .78 (M-F) on the short form of the PAQ. Lenney (1991) indicated that, "generally only the M and F scales are used for classification. Indeed the M-F scale is seldom used in empirical studies" (p. 599). The M-F scale is normally not used because of the lack of clarity in the conceptual interpretation of this scale (Hill, Fekken, & Bond, 2000). The researcher of the present study also found the inconsistencies and errors in using a classification method (Masculine, Feminine, Androgynous, and Undifferentiated classifications) in printed forms of the PAQ, which she discussed at length with Dr. Mark Whatley (in personal communication, January 3 and January 4, 2005). Dr. David Musson[7] (in personal communication, January 21, 2005), who has worked extensively on the PAQ, verified the lack of clarity with these classifications. Spence and Helmreich (1978) provided information concerning a

[7] Dr. Robert Helmreich (in personal communication, January 20, 2003), who developed the PAQ directed me to Dr. David Musson, as he was involved in the use and development of the scale. Dr. Musson sent me the scale and answered questions regarding its use. Dr. Helmreich provided permission to use the PAQ in this research.

normative sample of college students. Despite the numerous interpretations of the results using this scale Lenney (1991), suggested that using absolute scores (continuous variables) on the Masculine (M) and Feminine (F) scales is a statistically appropriate method of interpretation. Dr. Dave Musson (in personal communication, January 21, 2005) also suggested that using continuous variables in the interpretation of PAQ scores would be the most appropriate method classification. In using continuous scores, 32 is the highest possible score on each scale (masculine and feminine scores). Smolak and Munstertieger (2003) also used separate masculine and feminine scores in their study considering gender and voice in relation to depression and eating disorders.

Concerning reliability, Spence and Helmreich (1978) reported Cronbach alphas of .85 (M), .82 (F) and .78 (M-F), using a college sample and the 24-item version of the PAQ. Hill, Fekken, and Bond (2000) stated that other researchers have reported Cronbach alphas of .51 to .85 (M) and .65 to .82 (F) for the PAQ. In the present study, the measures of reliability were $\alpha = .71$ (F) and $\alpha = .50$ (M), consistent with the past reports of researchers using the PAQ. In addition, Helmreich, Spence and Wilhelm (1981) provided evidence for the validity of the PAQ. They suggested that after several factor analyses they maintain that there is a bipolar differentiation between M and F items.

The Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (IDEA)
(Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2003)

The authors of the IDEA designed this scale to "ask respondents to what degree their lives are characterized by emerging adulthood themes" (Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2003, p. 2). Through factor analyses they found five subscales related to

emerging adulthood, including, "identity explorations, experimentation/possibilities, negativity/instability, self-focus, and feeling in-between" (Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2003, p.11). A sixth factor opposite to the emerging adulthood themes of "other focus" (p. 11) was also identified. The results of exploratory factor analyses confirmed that all factor loadings exceeded .40 and that some loadings were as high as .80 (p. 11). Based on information from four studies they reported that this scale has high test-retest reliability and internal consistency. Reifman, Arnett, and Colwell provided the following test-retest reliabilities from their first and third studies which were, identity exploration, $\alpha_1 = .85$, test-retest=.66; experimentation $\alpha_1 = .83$, test-retest= .76; negativity, $\alpha_1 = .82$, test-retest= .72; other-focused, $\alpha_1 = .73$, test-retest= .64; self-focused, $\alpha_1 = .70$, test-retest= .65; and feeling in-between, $\alpha_1 = .80$, test-retest= .37 (pp. 27-28). The test-retest reliabilities were conducted within a one-month interval. In the present study, the researcher found the following reliability values for the IDEA scores: identity exploration, $\alpha = .73$; experimentation, $\alpha = .77$; negativity, $\alpha = .74$, other-focused, $\alpha = .67$; self-focused, $\alpha = .49$; and feeling in-between, $\alpha = .76$. These values indicate the reliability of the scores and correspond with the reliability values reported by the authors of the IDEA scale.

In addition, Reifman, Arnett, and Colwell provided information about the correlation of the dimensions of emerging adulthood with constructs such as life satisfaction, self-mastery, possible selves, novelty seeking, future orientation, and parental control (pp. 18-19). None of these five areas of emerging adulthood correlated with novelty seeking. They conducted their studies on individuals age 18 and 50 plus, and in one study they used 6th to 12th graders, undergraduate and graduate college students (p. 14). Reifman, Arnett, and Colwell (2003) indicated that this scale is new to the field of

development and they state "we hope that it will help us get close to the ideal of a rich, contextual characterization of individual as they move through this formative period of the life span" (p. 23). The researcher used the IDEA only to obtain descriptive information for the present study.

Ethics, Informed Consent, and Confidentiality

The Faculties of Education and Extension Research Ethics Board (EE REB) at the University of Alberta reviewed and approved the study conducted. During the process of recruiting participants, the researcher provided a verbal description of the study and a written information letter (Appendices A and H) to all participants describing the nature and purpose of the study. The information letter informed participants about the nature and purpose of the study, indicated that participation in this study was voluntary, and if students chose to decline participation or withdraw from the study the researcher would not use any of the data collected from their questionnaires, and they would not suffer any penalty for withdrawal.

The researcher addressed privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity in the information letters provided to students. She ensured the confidentiality of information gathered from participants by coding written materials with a number and the participants returned information to the researcher in a sealed envelope in order to maintain their privacy.

Qualitative Method

Design of Study

The researcher conducted this portion of the study as a basic interpretive qualitative aspect to this study (Merriam, 2002). Merriam stated that in a basic qualitative study, the researcher "seeks to understand and discover a phenomenon, a process, the perspectives and worldviews of the people involved or a combination of these" (p. 6).

Merriam (2002) stated that "phenomenology and symbolic interaction guide interpretive qualitative research" (p. 37). Phenomenology, as described by Van Manen (1984) "is the study of lived experience" (p. 37), and that the primary focus is to understand the meaning of the experience. Merriam stressed that in using phenomenology one focuses on the daily experience of the participant(s) (p. 37). The researcher must be concerned with "understanding the essence and underlying structure of the phenomenon" (Merriam, 2002, p. 38). Symbolic interactionism "focuses on the nature of social interaction, the dynamic social activities taking place among persons" (Charon (1998, 27) which clearly involves interpretation. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) stated that individuals make interpretations through their interaction with others and construct meaning. In symbolic interactionism, individuals act in relation to one another, people react to one another and influence each other, and individuals influence their own thinking by considering the perspective of the other (Charon, 1988; Merriam, 2002).

Merriam (2002) said:

> Thus drawing from phenomenology and symbolic interaction in particular, qualitative researchers conducting a basic interpretive study would be

> interested in (1) how people interpret their experiences, (2) how they construct their worlds, and (3) what meaning they attribute to their experiences. The overall purpose is to understand how people make sense of their lives and their experiences. (p. 38)

In using a basic qualitative interpretive approach, the researcher was able to focus on understanding the participants' interpretations of their experiences concerning their sense of voice and imaginary audience ideation in their world as emerging adults. The researcher was also able to consider the meaning the individuals attributed to their personal life and experiences. As the participants generously shared their time and experiences, the researcher wanted to gain some understanding of a part of their lives, their experiences and meaning making as emerging adults.

Sample

The researcher selected participants for interviews using purposive sampling procedures. The process of sample selection began near the completion of the quantitative data collection (325 of the 341 packages had been collected at the start of initial sample selection). Of the participants who completed questionnaires, 135 participants also indicated a potential interest in participating in the interview process. First, it was necessary to sort those who had stated a potential interest from those who were not interested in participating in the interview process. On an interview information sheet distributed to all individuals who completed questionnaires (Appendix C). The researcher had indicated that I would choose between 5 and 10 participants for interview. A small number was manageable and appeared to be sufficient to examine the

researcher's question concerning the experience of voice and imaginary audience among a limited number of participants.

The researcher calculated the mean scores for the subscales of the New Imaginary Audience Scale (Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson, 1989) and the Level of Voice Questionnaire (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998). She divided participants into three categories of high, medium, and low for each scale, using the mean as the medium category and one standard deviation above the mean as the high category, and one standard deviation below the mean as the low category.[8] Nine separate categories, as illustrated in Figure 3.1 were further established. These categories served to fit the theories of imaginary audience and voice, and allowed the researcher to select participants who reported different levels of voice and differed in the reported amount of imaginary audience ideation. The researcher sought out individuals from each of the nine categories established to participate in the interviews.

The researcher produced a list of 34 individuals, and contacted 23 individuals at the end of the winter term. Of the 23 individuals contacted, 11 individuals stated an interest and set up interview times. Two individuals declined participation due to personal circumstances, before meeting for their scheduled interview and the remainder of the individuals (12 individuals) chose not to participate in the interviews. The participants who were interviewed did not fit into the low voice or low imaginary audience category. Those individuals those who may have fit into those categories did not express an interest in participating in the interviews. The researcher did not compare the questionnaire scores and the interview data as she wanted to reduce bias from the

[8] The researcher formulated this method of calculation under the guidance and suggestions of Dr. Christina Rinaldi during the winter of 2004.

quantitative findings within the qualitative analysis and she wanted to avoid any possible issues concerning ethics and privacy of the participants.

Figure 3.1 Selection Categories Using Voice and Imaginary Audience (IA) Scales

High Imaginary Audience-High Voice	High Imaginary Audience - Medium Voice	High Imaginary Audience- Low Voice
Medium Imaginary Audience-High Voice	Medium Imaginary Audience –Medium Voice	Medium Imaginary Audience -Low Voice
Low Imaginary Audience-High Voice	Low Imaginary Audience-- Medium Voice	Low Imaginary Audience-Low Voice

Ethics, Informed Consent, and Confidentiality

The Faculties of Education and Extension Research Ethics Board (EE REB) at the University of Alberta reviewed and approved the study conducted. The researcher gave all potential participants general information about the study, and the selection procedure for participants interested in the interviews. The researcher also asked any interested individuals to provide their preferred contact information on a separate sheet that she provided in the questionnaire package used for the quantitative portion of the study. Contact information was coded with a number that matched the questionnaires. The researcher separated the contact information sheets from the questionnaires in order to ensure participant privacy.

When selecting potential interview participants, the researcher matched the contact information with identification codes on the questionnaires in order to locate individuals in the nine established categories. However, once the researcher obtained the contact information, she separated the questionnaires from the contact information. The researcher contacted potential participants using their preferred method of contact, such as telephone, mail, or e-mail, and she used discretion in order to ensure the confidentiality of the potential interview participant. Interview meetings were set with interested individuals. The researcher conducted all of the interviews in an office, to provide freedom from distractions and to protect the privacy of the participant.

The researcher provided interview participants with a verbal explanation and a written information letter about the interview process. The information letter also indicated that participation in this study was voluntary and emphasized that if students chose to decline participation or withdraw from the study, their information would not be used in the study and there would be no penalty for withdrawal.

The researcher addressed privacy, confidentiality and anonymity in the information letters provided to students. She ensured confidentiality of information gathered from participants. Each participant selected a pseudonym in order to protect his or her privacy. In addition, the researcher altered any information that would possibly reveal the identity of an individual in order ensure privacy of participants.

Interviews

The researcher held semi-structured interviews with each participant. Each interview was approximately one hour in length. Bogdan and Bilken (1992) suggested

that an interview serves as a conversation with the purpose of obtaining information from an individual. The questions used in this study reflected the theories of voice and imaginary audience, and allowed the researcher to explore the participant's experiences of voice and imaginary audience in different contexts. The researcher also asked questions concerning the Internet in relation to imaginary audience[9]. The open-ended questions from the interviews allowed the participant to explore his or her thoughts and experiences that provided information unlike the information from questionnaires or from closed-ended questions. The researcher used interview questions to guide the participant and her within the process of the interview (Appendix I).

All interviews were tape-recorded. During the interview process, the researcher gauged the process and the dynamic of the conversation. She provided participants with clarification, and encouraged the participants to discuss their own experiences. Mertons (2005) suggested that semi-structured interviews enable the researcher to address particular issues while providing flexibility for the researcher and the participant. The researcher transcribed and analyzed all of the data and provided participants with copies of the transcript requesting their approval of the contents in the transcript. She also asked participants to identify any specific information that they wanted removed from the transcript. The participants received more information after the initial data and subsequent analyses. In addition, throughout her contact with participants, the researcher

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[9] Dr. Jill McClay (in personal communication, May 20, 2003) suggested the possibility of imaginary audience and Internet use. She suggested that I read Dibbel (1998) and Lewis (2001). These authors considered how individuals have taken on different identities on the Internet. Based on Dr. McClay's suggestions and the literature concerning Internet use, I formulated a question about imaginary audience and Internet use.

assured the participants that she was willing to answer any of the participants' questions, or address any concerns about the interviews and content used in the dissertation.

Data Analysis

The researcher conducted a basic qualitative interpretive study in which "data are inductively analyzed to identify recurring patterns or common themes that cut across data" (Merriam, 2002, pp. 6-7). Bogdan and Biklen (1992) defined a theme as "some concept or theory that emerges from your data" (p. 186). During the data analysis, the researcher of this study used a constant comparative method of analysis, which involved unitizing, categorizing, filling in patterns, and member checks (Lincoln & Guba 1985, pp. 344-351).

The researcher began her analysis by reading through each transcript several times locating and highlighting particularly meaningful sections of the text (unitizing). She transferred each portion of the meaningful text to different colours of paper[10] that represented each participant. Each participant's notes were placed into a separate pile and the researcher read and re-read each pile several times. By sorting through the participants' notes, patterns and categories (categorizing), and similarities and contrasting information emerged. For example, while some participants in this study said that they felt a sense of ease in certain relational contexts, others expressed a lack of ease. The contrasting information was placed together in one pile.

[10] The researcher adapted the "Cut-Up-and-Put-in-Folder Approach" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, pp. 177-78) for sorting data, using coloured paper instead of cutting paper, and corkboards instead of folders.

Through the sorting process, categories and themes emerged. The researcher coded the patterns into categories and themes that she changed and refined over time (Merriam, 2002, p. 14). She attached the piles of coloured paper on several corkboards and continued to move the piles around until themes emerged, while continually reflecting on the decisions that she made. In this study, the most salient categories were voice and imaginary audience, which were reflected in the questions asked by the researcher. However, as she continued to analyze the data, reflect and revise the themes she found several distinct categories. Through the gradual refining, adjusting, sifting and sorting the coloured paper (filling in the patterns) the researcher established themes and categories that fit together. Each participant approved of the researcher's interpretation of his or her information used (member checking) in the analysis. After the researcher had established the 4 categories and 19 themes, she began to formulate the results of the analyses[11]. However, she continued to encounter overlapping information across themes and categories. In writing about the themes and categories, the researcher found herself repeating information and/or providing disjointed results of the analyses. She reflected on the issues and then sorted through the information again over several days. As a result, she collapsed the categories and themes into three themes: 1) Having Voice and Losing Voice, 2) The Use of Imaginary Audience, and 3) The Connection between Imaginary Audience and Voice (Figure 3.2). In using the three larger themes the researcher retained information provided by the participants and was able to consider the participants' experiences in a more coherent and cohesive manner.

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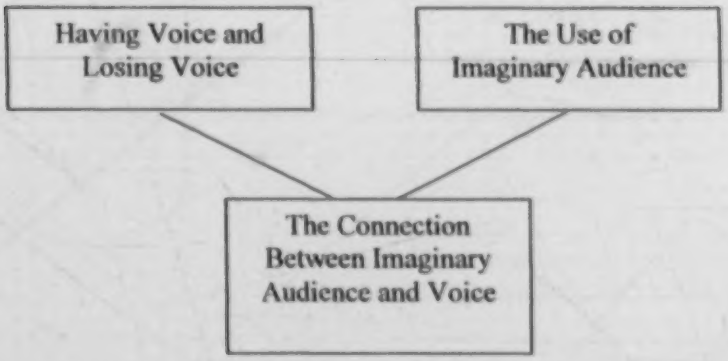
[11] The researcher consulted with Dr. William Whelton and Dr. Mary Ann Bibby for advice concerning the formulation of categories and themes.

Figure 3.2.: Three Themes Uncovered in the Study



Participants

All of the interview participants were undergraduate students at a western Canadian research and medical university. The participants selected a pseudonym of their choice in order to protect their privacy. Six women (Alison, Anne, Kone, Kristi, Rachel and Wingwalker 24) and three men (Erik, Jamie, and Robert) volunteered for the interviews. It is of interest to provide profiles of each participant, based on information that they provided, and my experience with each individual as the researcher. Each participant profile appears below, in alphabetic order by pseudonym.

Alison

Alison, aged 22, was a senior undergraduate student in an interdisciplinary faculty, who planned to start her graduate studies in the nest academic year. She was single and lived in a rural location with her family where they raised animals. She said that she had an extremely honest and open relationship with her family and friends and

felt that she was always encouraged to say what she thought. Alison believed that her involvement in an agriculturally-oriented club during her childhood provided her with a sense of confidence for public speaking. Alison described women involved in raising animals as "*very opinionated, very strong and pretty confident.*" She felt that she had "*always been a bit different*" because she had learned to be confident at a young age.

Alison had been in what she referred to as her first major relationship earlier in the academic year. She used caution and refrained from saying what she thought at the start of the relationship. However, when she felt that the relationship was more "*solid*", Alison expressed her thoughts with ease to her boyfriend, and she believed that her ease of expression contributed to the termination of the relationship.

Alison described her voice as "*loud*" and believed that she had no difficulty expressing her thoughts with others. When describing her level of voice in classes she pointed to her stomach and said, "*if I have something to say and I don't say it, it almost burns up inside of me. In here, it's itchy and has a scratch....I don't know I think that I am very overwhelmed.*" She felt that she was more outspoken than her classmates were, and believed that many of her classmates resented her confidence. She clarified this statement by saying that she felt confident when discussing academic and intellectual issues with professors and classmates. Alison said that until she gained familiarity with strangers in personal and academic settings she felt a need to hold back a little and maintain a sense of caution. Alison separated her personal and academic life, and her roles in those areas of her life.

Alison was a woman who on most days liked attention from others. She referred to herself as a "visual spectacle" because of her height and focused primarily on her sense of confidence.

Anne

Anne, aged 22, was a senior student in the Faculty of Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics. She planned to work as an assistant for a research project at the University during the summer.

Anne lived with her boyfriend and several roommates in a house. She was concerned about fulfilling her responsibilities in the housework, and was bothered some of her roommates whom she felt were irresponsible in matters pertaining to the operation of the household. Anne believed that she had become "*bolder*", though she felt uncomfortable confronting other people. In one instance, she made use of indirect comments to avoid a confrontation roommate, as she did not wish to "push the wrong buttons" and wanted good relationships with people.

Anne believed that she cared too much, about what other people thought of her. She tried to change her behaviors when she perceived that other people had negative thoughts about her, and wanted other people to see her as diligent and responsible, at school and at home. She felt that her concern about what other people thought related to her self-esteem, and said that sometimes she caught herself agreeing too much with other people. When she felt uncomfortable expressing herself, she imagined her conversations with others and analyzed the possible outcomes of her actions, so that she could prepare herself for the actual conversation.

Anne believed that though she was able to talk to her parents, she felt more comfortable sharing certain personal information with her friends. Though many of Anne's friends were her classmates, she felt concerned about expressing herself in class because she did not want to contradict others' opinions. She wanted her professors and classmates to see her as intelligent, a good classmate and a student whom people could rely on and speak to in confidence.

Anne cared what others thought of her and worked hard to gain and maintain the respect of others, even if she had to repress her voice at times. The more she felt discomfort in expressing herself, the more she used imaginary audience.

Erik

Erik, aged 26, was a student in the Faculty of Education. He was completing an internship requirement at the time of our interview in which he felt a great sense of responsibility. Erik was concerned about his career and life path, and sometimes wished that he could "goof off" and not worry about the future.

Prior to starting his studies in the Faculty in Education, Erik taught abroad for three years where he met his girlfriend. He was in the process of helping his girlfriend move to Canada. He felt that he had a strong relationship with his family and girlfriend and was comfortable expressing his thoughts with them. Erik was not concerned about what strangers thought of him and believed that he was confident in expressing himself with most people. Though Erik had a serious girlfriend and a close relationship he said that in new romantic pursuits, he felt a need for caution. He wanted to disclose

"everything" about himself in romantic relationships over time, because he did not want to share too much at once.

Erik believed that it was difficult to speak freely with his colleagues. He wanted to avoid conflict and negative consequences that could create uncomfortable working conditions. When he lived and worked abroad, once when he shared his feelings about a matter with a colleague, the colleague reacted in a negative manner, resulting in a strained work environment during the time that they worked together. In addition, Erik did not agree with the demands of his internship supervisor but he did not want to tell her what he thought because he feared a negative reaction and negative consequences. He felt that it was necessary to preserve the relationship and learn what he could from his supervisor. He said, *"I am done soon, and that will be the end of it. We will both go away happy because we avoided the whole conflict that would arise if I did say something."* He repressed his voice in order to *"endure situations"* that he did not agree with in so that he could preserve his professional relationships, avoid discomfort, and negative consequences. In an effort to cope with his relationship, rather than telling his supervisor what he thought, Erik imagined himself telling his supervisor what he thought, and hearing her response to him. Despite a need for caution with colleagues, Erik did not feel any strain with his professors, and felt that his professors were approachable and *"easy to talk to."*

Erik was proud of his sense of imagination. He engaged his imagination frequently in real and imaginary contexts. He imagined circumstances such as telling his supervisor what he thought and her reactions to him, and imagined his future, with a family, *"like three kids and a dog."* Erik also imagined himself as a superhero and felt

that it was *"fun,"* and allowed him to *"relax,"* and made him feel *"stronger."* Erik said that he was comfortable speaking in public, and so he did not use imaginary audience to prepare for presentations.

Erik believed that he had strong dedication to his family, girlfriend and to his future and he took his responsibilities and relationships seriously. He felt a need for caution in professional situations and often repressed his voice to "endure" situations where sharing his feelings could result in conflict and/or negative circumstances. Erik was thankful that he had a sense of imagination and used it in ways that helped him relax and cope with situations. He said, "*imagination, thank God I have one. I don't know what I would do without one.*"

Jamie

Jamie, aged 19, a second year student in the Faculty of Science, was a gay man who liked that he was a *"face in the crowd"* and felt free to be himself at the university. He was single, but had romantic interests.

When asked about his voice, Jamie responded, *"I am rather difficult to shut up, so I typically say what I mean and do what I say kind of thing, as much as possible."* However, Jamie believed that it was not always possible to share that he was a gay man with others. He focused on how he repressed his voice and refrained from telling certain people that he was a gay man. Jamie told his family that he was gay four years ago and felt that he was open and honest with his parents. He hid that he was a gay man from part of his extended family because they had strong religious beliefs and would not accept him and his immediate family. He refrained from expressing his sexual preferences with

his extended family to protect his parents from conflict and discomfort, and to help preserve their relationship with the family. He described hiding that he was gay as "putting on a mask" to cope with certain situations and people.

Though some of his co-workers at a large retail store were aware that Jamie was gay, he did not wish to talk about it with them because it caused unnecessary discomfort for everyone. He said, "I just shut up at work." Jamie believed that the women at work accepted him because they were relieved that he was not romantically interested in them, but he thought that his male co-workers were afraid that he was gay. He felt accepted by his gay friends, and disclosed that he did not have to hide his identity with others who were gay. Jamie believed that gay people were better in sharing their emotions and discussing sexuality than heterosexuals were, and he said that he enjoyed discussing sexuality because he felt that "it is one of the greatest subjects ever". Jamie respected his close friends and that did not care what most other people thought of him. He did not use imaginary audience ideation to imagine others' reactions to him, but he cared that he did not hurt others or himself. He disliked using the telephone and spoke to his friends either in person or by chatting on the Internet.

Jamie felt like an actor when he concealed that he was gay. He said, "*I am forced to act, and it is the only thing where my voice can't necessarily be heard because of social pressures and a society that doesn't necessarily look on that as favourable.* Though he felt that hiding his homosexuality was unfortunate, he said for him it was *"actually a fortunate thing because in the process of being forced to mask that I can't continuously mask other portions of my personality, so people always do know who I am."*

Jamie believed that aside from concealing that he was gay from certain people, he felt free to act and be himself. He felt concerned about revealing his sexual preferences because he did not want deal with negative reactions from others. Jamie believed that he was a good friend, *"empathetic,"* and well-liked by others.

Kone

Kone, aged 20, was a third year student in the Faculty of Science, who lived at home with her parents and siblings. Kone believed that she could not share her feelings with her father because he did not understand her feelings and experiences in the same way that her mother did. Though she could tell her mom most anything, she refrained from sharing everything because her mother would worry too much.

Kone thought that she had an exceptional group of friends, who served as a strong support network to her. She spent most of her time with her friends at school and outside of school. She cared about her friends, what they thought of her, and felt that she knew her friends well enough that she could tell them to leave her alone if she needed some space. However, Kone also believed that she had to be careful in what she told her friends because she wanted to be *"nice"* and did not want to lose her friends because she was not *"nice."*

Kone said that when she was younger, she used to use imaginary audience to prepare for telephone conversations and class presentations, because she was afraid to make any blunders. However, she had stopped planning too much and said, "I think rehearsal is bad for me". She was less concerned about the judgments of her classmates and friends in university than she was during high school, because she believed that at

university her classmates and friends were more concerned her knowledge than her appearances, which she felt was the focus in high school.

Kone was concerned about people's reactions to her appearances because she did not like to *"stick out."* She said that during her childhood and adolescence, people had asked her about her ethnic origin so much that she felt that she had become somewhat *"paranoid"* about her ethnic difference. She did not like groups because she believed that people were cruel when they were in groups. Despite her concerns about sticking out Kone said that she wanted to look different in the way that she wore her hair and dressed. However if she had a bad day or just wanted to blend in she chose to wear inconspicuous clothing and hairstyles to avoid any *"judgment"* from others. In particular, Kone had a heightened awareness of her appearances when she visited her relatives in a small town where she felt people stared at her and gave her unnecessary attention, which in turn caused her to try to *"blend in"* more.

Kone wanted to be herself, and did not want to draw the attention of others. She did not want to receive others' judgment and wished to refrain from judging others. She cared about what other people thought of her *"quite a bit"* and wanted to be *"nice"* to others.

Kristi

Kristi, aged 19, was a second-year student in the Faculty of Arts majoring in Behavioral Sciences. She described herself as *"shy"* and *"awkward"* and she said that she did not like to attract the attention of others. Kristi had different levels of confidence

in different contexts, and believed that her level of voice related to whom she was with and how comfortable she felt in any given situation.

Kristi experienced discomfort in the university setting. She believed that many students around her were "brilliant" and she felt "less adequate" in comparison to her peers. Kristi did not have many friends at the university and she avoided talking to university students because she felt that she could not contribute to the conversations that her peers engaged in. Kristi avoided her professors because she believed that her professors had power over her, which also caused her to feel nervous when dealing with them.

In contrast to her discomfort in the university environment, Kristi was at ease in her part-time position with the Department of National Defense and Canadian Forces. She thought that her co-workers were *"not overly smart."* However she emphasized that she felt that they respected her, and looked- up to her. Kristi assumed a leadership role in teaching students because she wanted to be a mentor that her students would admire. Though Kristi did not like public speaking, when she was teaching she believed that she had to *"kick that shy person down"* and act as a leader for her students. She felt that she took on a subordinate role with her superiors because she believed that her superiors, like her professors, were in a position of control, and so she tried *"stay off their radar."* Kristi admitted that she risked going unnoticed, but she preferred the lack of recognition to suffering possible negative consequences when she felt she performed less than her best.

Many of Kristi's friends were also her co-workers in her job at the Department of National Defense and Canadian Forces. She said that one of her best friends was also her boss, and that she liked having him in that position because he did the talking for her.

Kristi felt comfortable talking to her friends and believed that they shared similar interests and could be honest, and respectful with one another. She felt that she related better to her friends than to her family. When she lived at home, Kristi did not talk much with her parents because she felt that she did not share common interests with her parents. Kristi also said that she and her father argued a lot when she was younger. When she moved away from home she started talking to her parents, and she said that her father visited her often. Though she felt closer to her parents, Kristi still felt it was difficult to talk to them because she had never really shared anything with them before she moved out. She said, *"You pick your friends, right. You don't pick your family. So I found people who share the same interests."* She felt that her friends did not judge her and that she could be herself around them. Kristi was clear that she was comfortable with her friends and felt a genuine sense of reciprocity among those in her friendship circle.

Rachel

Rachel, aged 19, was a second-year student in the Faculty of Arts. She had not yet declared a major, but was taking courses in the social sciences and humanities. Rachel had a boyfriend that she met in her first-year of university, and she shared an apartment with her sister. She was doing volunteer work for a professor on campus.

Rachel developed a strong relationship with her family after she moved away from home. When she lived at home, she did not talk much with her family but after she left, her relationship with her family flourished. Rachel knew that she could talk to her parents and often sought their advice on personal matters. She felt that her family accepted her, and she could express her feelings with them freely because her relationship

with family was *"constant."* In addition to her family, Rachel had a strong relationship with her boyfriend. She believed that she was his *"confidante,"* and their relationship was unlike any other relationship because she felt it was *"the strongest but also the most unstable"* relationship. She felt it was strong because they shared so much together, yet the relationship could cease if one person decided to end it.

Rachel valued honesty, and genuine relationships with others. She said, *"I don't mind telling people who I am, because what they get is the real deal kind of thing and I don't believe in withholding who I am personally."* However, she had experienced friendships in which she did not feel a sense of mutual respect, and people were *"fake"* and sometimes judgmental. In some cases, she felt uncomfortable and sometimes believed that she needed to *"erect a mask"* in order to endure particular situations, and *"avoid disagreements."* She needed to maintain relationships so that she could have *"fun"* and enjoy the company of other people. When Rachel felt uncomfortable and disagreed with certain friends, she engaged in imaginary audience in which she imagined confronting her friends. She believed that imagining the situation, rather than confronting the person, was a way of coping with situations that bothered her.

Rachel was concerned about her image as a student in the Faculty of Arts, at the university. Her parents were scientists and many of her friends at university studied sciences. Rachel was content with the courses she was taking and really enjoyed school. However, she was concerned about the *"arts stereotype"* and appearing *"dumb"* to others. Rachel indicated that she felt uncomfortable discussing topics related to the sciences and repressed her voice in instances where her friends talked about topics that made her feel inadequate.

Rachel's, family, her boyfriend, and close friends were a priority to her. She struggled with her image concerning her academic path, but she was committed to her studies and placed great value on her education. Rachel wanted genuine, honest, and reciprocal relationships in which she could really share herself freely.

Robert

Robert, aged 19, was a second-year student in the Faculty of Science. He said that he did not socialize with people much in person and that, outside of school his primary source of socialization was via Instant Messaging programs on the Internet. He had a girlfriend whom he met online

Robert made friends *"around the world"* on the Internet. He preferred chatting online to face-to-face conversation. Robert knew the people with whom he interacted, and had no interest in chatting with unknown audiences. He experienced a greater sense of comfort and ease in conversing online, because he did not feel a pressure to respond immediately online as in face-to-face conversations because he wanted to maintain clarity and avoid any miscommunication. Robert believed that he could be himself with his friends online and that he cared about what his close friends thought about him. He also thought that his friends were so close that they could express most anything with each other. In contrast, Robert did not really care what others thought of him if he did not really know them well. He said, *"I don't really care what they think of me. But, at the same time, if I don't know them very well, then I am not going to be very open to them or share all that much."* Robert thought that the better he knew someone, the more comfortable he felt conversing with the other person.

Robert lived at home with his parents and his brother. He considered his relationship with his parents to be *"apathetic,"* without much interaction. He felt that interaction occurred when his parents wanted him to do household chores or when he wanted practical advice on things such as his taxes. He indicated that his parents usually carried out their own activities, and that he and his brother went their own ways. Robert did not share his feelings with his parents and tried to hide any negative feelings from them. He was more comfortable sharing his feelings with his close friends, which he said, *"in this case is mostly people online that I know and trust."*

Robert mentioned that he was comfortable speaking in some of his smaller classes if he felt that he had something to offer to the class discussion, and if he processed his thoughts in a timely fashion. If he did not ask a question in class, Robert did not hesitate to speak with his professors after class. He used his imagination before class presentations so that he would be clear and witty where appropriate. However, he did not *"pay attention to the audience,"* because others' judgments did not concern him.

Robert believed that he had developed strong relationships online in which he trusted his friends and they trusted him. He felt that he could share his feelings with his friends, but not with his family. He was concerned with saying what he meant and avoiding miscommunication.

Wingwalker 24

Wingwalker 24, aged 20, was in her third-year at the University. She was in the Faculty of Arts, majoring in the social sciences. Wingwalker 24 believed that her life at

university was both academic and social. She was single and lived at home with her parents.

Wingwalker 24 felt that she could be herself around her friends. She had some friends from childhood whom she considered to be almost like siblings to her. She distinguished between her friends and *"adults,"* and suggested that her friends were more sympathetic and understanding than adults. Wingwalker 24 did not consider herself as an adult, because she still lived at home, and she had not yet explored areas of her identity that involved independence and responsibilities. Though she felt close to her mother, Wingwalker 24 indicated that she did not share everything she felt with her mother. She said that she was aware of her parent's control over her and thus she was more careful in her conversations pertaining to certain topics with them. Unlike her close relationship with her mother, Wingwalker 24 thought that her father was not sympathetic and did not understand her feelings. She felt that she maintained strong connections with her eldest brother and her brother-in-law, with whom she felt she could share everything. Wingwalker 24 cared about her family and believed that she could be herself with them. She said, "*My family knows who I am basically. I don't have to change anything about myself when I am around my family. I am very comfortable. They know who I am.*" However, Wingwalker 24 said she experienced discomfort when talking with men on a personal level. She said that she was more comfortable with men on an academic level than on a personal level. She often resorted to "safe topics" with men because she believed that on a personal level, that there was potential for romantic involvement.

Wingwalker 24 said that she cared about what people thought of her. She gauged her conversations with other people, and when she felt comfortable, she was free to act

and be herself. Wingwalker 24 believed that she could be herself with most of her friends. However, with some people she felt the need to act, so that she would not offend the other person. Acting produced *"a lot of anxiety and it was actually physically fatiguing to talk because I felt that I couldn't be myself,"* but she wanted to *"protect"* the other person and just enjoy the time that they had together. Wingwalker 24 believed that she could adjust to most situations and referred to herself as a "*chameleon*" who could change to fit the environment. She wanted respect, did not wish to harm or offend others, and liked to be the centre of attention, wanting others to notice her wit and intelligence.

Wingwalker 24 spoke in class when she had something *"intelligent"* to say. She wanted respect from her professors and classmates. She indicated that the professor and the class affected how much she spoke in class. She engaged in more discussions in her smaller classes where she felt there was more room for discussion. She believed that in larger classes, she experienced al sense of *"apathy,"* and so she spoke less in those classes. She also said, *"Sometimes I try to gauge the prof's. reaction. Like what he or she is looking for."* She stressed that though she loved to talk, she maintained an awareness of her environment and the potential consequences of speaking out.

Wingwalker 24 believed that she had a vivid sense of imagination. She referred to daydreams, which she experienced before falling asleep. In these dreams, Wingwalker 24 imagined herself in situations that involved saving lives, people's reactions to the news that she had cancer, and what people said after she died. She said that she believed that she engaged in imaginary audience ideation as a substitute for social interaction. She also imagined herself on romantic dates.

Wingwalker 24 cared what people thought of her and loved being the *"centre of attention."* She believed that she adjusted well to social situations and enjoyed the admiration of others. Wingwalker 24 did not think of herself as an adult because she believed that she needed to explore much more about herself and her roles before she could assume the responsibilities of an adult.

In summary, the use of qualitative and quantitative methods in this study required the researcher to collect and analyze data using different techniques. The researcher used both methods to gather and organize information, and analyze the data, to answer questions and understand the concepts of imaginary audience and voice, as experienced by emerging adult university students. Results and findings of the data analyses follow in the Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSES AND RESULTS

The researcher examined the first few research questions using quantitative research methods and analyses. She considered Question 5 using qualitative research methods. The results for the analyses from both methods follow below.

Quantitative Analyses and Results

The researcher answered the first 4 research questions (beginning of p. 86) using correlation analysis and Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA), with follow-up Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) methods (Hummel & Sligo, 1971). MANOVA and ANOVA are relatively robust to violations of assumptions and thus violations of assumptions may allow for valid results under certain circumstances.[12] In order to maintain robustness of the statistics using the Multivariate Analysis of Variance, the researcher needed to meet certain assumptions. First, independence within each population was assumed. The researcher used a larger sample size to deal with the departure from multivariate normality. In addition the researcher used the Pillai's trace (V^s) multivariate test statistic as it is the most appropriate statistic to use when sample sizes are unequal (French, Poulsen, & Yu, 2002). The researcher also verified the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance.

Descriptive statistics (Means and Standard Deviation) for scores on Level of

[12] This information is found in course notes from Multivariate Statistical Methods in Educational Research (EDPY605) taught by Dr. Todd Rogers, University of Alberta (Winter, 2002 term).

Voice Questionnaire subscales (voice with parents, men classmates, women classmates, and professors), the New Imaginary Audience scale, and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (feminine and masculine gender orientation) are provided in Table 4.1. A discussion of each research question in this study also follows.

Table 4.1 Means for Level of Voice Subscales, Imaginary Audience, and Gender Orientation (N = 341)

	M	SD
Voice with Parents	15.4	4.0
Voice with Women Classmates	15.7	3.3
Voice with Men Classmates	15.0	3.4
Voice with Professors	12.3	3.7
Imaginary Audience	95.4	17.0
Feminine Gender Orientation	24.3	3.7
Masculine Gender Orientation	20.4	3.4

Question 1.

What is the relationship between gender, grade point average standing (low, medium and high GPA), and scores on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation for the overall sample?

The researcher calculated correlation coefficients to assess the direction and strength of relationships between scores on gender, grade point average standing (GPA), level of voice (with parents, women classmates, men classmates, and professors), imaginary audience, and gender orientation (Table 4.2).

The correlation analysis uncovered several relationships among the variables of interest at the $p < .05$ and $p < .01$ levels of significance. The strongest relationship uncovered was a positive correlation between scores on level of voice with men classmates and level of voice with women classmates ($r = .60$). Other moderate relationships include level of voice with women classmates and professors ($r = .39$), level of voice with men classmates and professors ($r = .40$), and scores of masculine gender orientation and level of voice with men classmates ($r = .30$). These correlations were positive in nature. Other significant correlations uncovered ranged between $r = -.13$ and .25, as seen in Table 4.2. The correlation analyses also verified that there were in fact relationships between the variables in question, relationships that were beneficial for conducting the subsequent analyses for this study.

Table 4.2: Intercorrelations between Student Gender, Gender Orientation and Scores on Imaginary Audience and Voice Scales

	Gender	GPA	Voice Parent	Voice Women Classmate	Voice Men Classmate	Voice Professor	Imaginary Audience	Feminine Orientation	Masculine Orientation
		Students	(N = 341)						
Gender	—	.19**	.10	-.02	-.14*	-.09	.08	.24**	-.07
GPA		—	.15**	.04	.05	.14*	-.01	.15**	.02
Voice Parent			—	.17*	.18*	.19**	_.06	.21**	.22**
Voice Women Classmates				—	.60*	.39**	-.05	.09	.25**
Voice Men Classmates					—	40**	-.13*	.05	.30**
Voice Professor						—	-.01	.05	.09**
Imaginary Audience							—		.02
Feminine Gender Orientation								—	
Masculine Gender Orientation									—

*Correlation is significant at $p < .05$ (2 tailed) ** Correlation is significant at $p < .01$ (2 tailed)

The researcher investigated the following three questions (2, 3, and 4) using a 2-Way Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) which was performed using independent variables (IV) of gender and GPA standing (low, medium and high) with dependent variables (DV) of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation. ANOVA and other relevant post-hoc analyses for each question follow the results of the MANOVA.

Question 2.

Will scores of undergraduate emerging adult men and women differ significantly on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation?

Descriptive statistics for gender on scores of level of voice, imaginary audience and on gender orientation are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Means for Gender on Level of Voice, Imaginary Audience and Gender Orientation

Variables	Men (n = 92) M	SD	Women (n = 249) M	SD
Voice Parent	14.7	3.4	15.5	4.2
Voice Women Classmates	15.8	3.1	15.7	3.0
Voice Men Classmates	15.8	3.1	14.8	3.5
Voice Professor	12.9	3.5	12.1	3.7
Imaginary Audience	93.3	16.1	96.2	17.1
Feminine Gender Orientation	22.8	3.6	24.8	3.7
Masculine Gender Orientation	20.8	3.3	20.2	3.5

For gender the multivariate main effect on relational levels of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation was significant $V^{(s)} = .07$, $F(1, 324) = 3.4$, $p < .05$ ($\eta_p^2 = .07$). The researcher used univariate tests to determine where the differences were. ANOVA results (Table 4.4) indicate that there were no gender differences on level of voice or imaginary audience. However, men and women differed on scores of feminine gender orientation, $F(1, 330) = 16.1$, $p < .05$. ($\eta_p^2 = .05$). Post hoc comparisons revealed that women (M = 24.8, SD = 3.7) had significantly higher scores on feminine gender orientation than did men (M= 22.8, SD =3.6), $p < .05$, $t(1, 339) = -4.526$. $p < .05$.

Table 4.4 Analysis of Variance for Gender on Level of Voice, Imaginary Audience and Gender Orientation

Source		df	F	p
GENDER				
	Voice Parent	1	3.8	.05
	Voice Women Classmates	1	.04	.83
	Voice Men Classmates	1	3.2	.07
	Voice Professor	1	2.1	.14
	Imaginary Audience	1	.47	.50
	Feminine Gender Orientation	1	16.1*	.00
	Masculine Gender Orientation	1	.01	.92
	Error	330		

*$p < .05$

Question 3.

Are there differences among undergraduate emerging adults based on their grade point average and scores on level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation?

Descriptive statistics for grade point average standing (GPA) are presented in Table 4.5. The Multivariate main effect for GPA with scores on relational levels of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation was significant $V^{(s)} = .078$, $F(1, 650) = 1.9$, $p < .05$ ($\eta_p^2 = .04$). The results of the follow-up ANOVA (Table 4.6) suggested that there was an effect of GPA standing on level of voice with parents $F(2, 330) = 4.6$, $p < .05$ ($\eta_p^2 = .03$) and feminine gender orientation scores $F(2, 330) = 5.9$, $p < .05$ ($\eta_p^2 = .03$).

Participants with low GPA (M = 14.24, SD = 4.0) had lower scores than those with medium GPA on voice with parents (M = 15.9, SD = 3.6), $t(1, 263) = -3.6$, $p < .05$. Differences were also found on feminine gender orientation between those with low GPA (M = 23.2, SD = 4.1) and medium GPA (M = 25.0, SD = 3.5) $t(1,263) = -3.8$, $p < .05$. Those with low GPA (M = 14.24, SD = 4.0) had lower scores than those with high GPA on level of voice with parents (M = 15.7, SD = 4.0), $t(1, 181) = -2.3$, $p < .05$. Those with high GPA also had higher scores (M = 13.3 SD =3.4) than those with low GPA (M = 11.9, SD = 3.7), $t(1, 181) = -2.6$, $p < .05$ on level of voice with professors. In addition, scores on feminine gender orientation differed between those with low GPA (M = 23.2, SD = 4.1) and those with high GPA (M = 24.5, SD =3.4), $t(1, 181) = -2.3$, $p < .05$.

Table 4.5 Means for GPA on Level of Voice, Imaginary Audience and Gender.

GPA	Low (n = 112)		Medium (n = 153)		High (n = 71)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Voice Parent	14.2	4.0	15.9	3.6	15.7	4.4
Voice Women Classmates	15.7	3.6	15.6	3.0	16.1	3.3
Voice Men Classmates	15.0	3.8	15.0	3.0	15.1	3.4
Voice Professor	11.9	3.8	12.3	3.6	13.3	3.4
Imaginary Audience	94.9	17.7	96.4	17.3	94.0	15.3
Feminine Gender Orientation	23.2	4.1	25.0	3.5	24.5	3.4
Masculine Gender Orientation	20.7	3.4	20.1	3.4	21.0	3.2

Table 4.6 Analysis of Variance for GPA with Level of Voice, Imaginary Audience and Gender Orientation (n = 336)

Source		df	F	p
GPA				
	Voice Parent	2	4.6*	.01
	Voice Women Classmates	2	.326	.72
	Voice Men Classmates	2	.333	.71
	Voice Professor	2	2.5	.09
	Imaginary Audience	2	.01	.99
	Feminine Gender Orientation	2	5.9*	.00
	Masculine Gender Orientation	2	.43	.65
	Error	330		

*$p < .05$

Question 4.

Do the combined variables of gender and grade point average affect level of voice and imaginary audience, and gender orientation?

The multivariate interaction between grade point average (GPA) and gender on scores of voice, imaginary audience and gender orientation was insignificant $V^{(3)} = .05$, $F(1, 650) = 1.2$, $p > .05$, and thus further analyses were not warranted. Level of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation did not vary as a function of the combination of gender and grade point average.

Question 5.

What are the experiences of a limited number of participants concerning voice and imaginary audience?

From the analysis of the data, the researcher established three themes that captured the participants' experiences concerning imaginary audience and voice. These three themes were: 1) Having Voice and Losing Voice, 2) The Use of Imaginary Audience, and 3) The Connection between Imaginary Audience and Voice. The findings of the analysis follow.

Having Voice and Losing Voice

Brown and Gilligan (1992) defined loss of voice as a struggle over expressing one's thoughts, and feelings, and knowledge. However, as one may experience loss of voice at times, one may also feel a sense of ease in expressing oneself at other times. Each of the participants in this study described how his or her voice varied in different

contexts, and in different relationships. They all said that comfort or a sense of ease was essential for having voice and expressing oneself. For example, when describing her overall sense of voice, Alison said, *"I am usually quite at ease."* Others believed that they needed familiarity with another person(s) before they felt comfortable expressing themselves. For example, Erik said that he felt comfortable unless, *"the person doesn't know who I am,"* and Rachel needed to *"reach a certain level with a person"* before she could feel comfortable with the other person. Kone stated that she needed to *"test the waters"* with others, and that "*weird vibes"* would prevent her from sharing too much. Jamie wanted to be careful about telling co-workers that he was gay. However, he said, *"Outside work, I am pretty laid back,"* and like Kone, Jamie spoke of *"feeling the water, seeing how people feel."*

Robert also needed to know people before he felt comfortable. However, he indicated that he found getting to know people was sometimes difficult. He said, *"The trouble you know, [is] before you know someone well you have to know someone not so well. So I guess I have trouble getting into closer relationships that I feel at ease talking about more-or-less anything."* For Robert, ease came with knowing someone, but he found it difficult to get to know others.

In addition, to comfort and familiarity, for some participants the context and relationship with others determined one's level of voice. For example, Alison distinguished between sharing personal and intellectual information. In reference to sharing with people unknown to her, she stated, *"I freely offer my intellectual opinions, but I rarely put myself out personally to new people."* Alison said that she had no difficulties expressing herself personally, with her friends and family. Robert indicated

that he was *"differentially open to various people,"* depending on how close he felt to others.

Some of the participants reported that for them, comfort yielded confidence, which they felt gave them a greater sense of ease in expressing their thoughts, and feelings with others., and a lack of confidence in a situation or relationship hindered their sense of ease and level of voice. Confidence and comfort affected the way in which they believed others thought about them, and/or the possible consequences of voicing their knowledge, thoughts, and feelings, which affected their sense of voice. Some people believed that they were confident, and others spoke of the contexts in which they felt they lacked confidence. For example, Alison said that she had more confidence than other people of her age did, including her classmates. She stated, *"I find that people my age really resent the confidence that I have."* Anne thought she was developing her sense of voice and comfort in expressing her opinions to others. She said *"[I am] standing up for myself better and just letting people know what I think."* On the other hand, Kristi who felt inferior to her peers at university said, *"Some of the people I have met are brilliant, and when I come at average, for most things I feel less adequate, I guess."* She also said, "*I often doubt my abilities,"* suggesting that she did not feel confident in the university environment. Like Kristi, Rachel had concerns over discussing certain topics with people because she did not want to *"sound dumb."* Kristi said that she felt confident with her co-workers because they *"look[ed] up to"* her and sought her advice. For Kristi, the difference between having voice and losing voice was contextual and her confidence in a situation affected her sense of voice.

In addition to comfort, confidence, and familiarity, some participants provided reasons why they repressed their voice. Kone felt that she had to be nice if she was going to express something with others because she did not want to jeopardize her friendships with others. She said, *"If there is something not nice to be said, I don't say it."* Jamie repressed his voice to protect his parents and preserve their relationship with extended family members. Jamie said,

> *I do it for my mother and my stepfather. Because my mother is..., her relationship with that side of the family is somewhat weak to begin with, because she has some other value systems and they don't coincide with [the values of the] family at all. And I do it for my stepfather because he would be incredibly uncomfortable to have a gay son living in his house and the family being upset about it.*

When asked to describe their own voice, some of the participants spoke of their voice in relation to strength, intensity or dynamic. For example, Alison and Wingwalker 24 stated that they feel that they had a "loud" voice. In addition, Wingwalker 24 said she felt that she was *"very expressive."* Alison believed that her voice allowed her a sense of ease and that she felt compelled to voice her opinions. She provided a metaphor of her need to speak in class: "*It's almost like if I have something to say and I don't say it, it almost burns up inside of me. In here, it's itchy, has a scratch....I don't know, I feel overwhelmed."* Anne described the strength and intensity her voice as *"getting bolder"* and she also said, *"Well just like standing up for myself better, and letting people know what I think."* Jamie also expressed his sense of ease when he said, *"I am rather difficult*

to shut up." The descriptions of voice as "loud," "bolder," and "difficult to shut up," conveyed a sense of ease in expressing oneself and thus. having voice.

Some of the participants in this study indicated that potential consequences affected their level of voice, and with whom they would share information. They spoke of how positive and negative consequences predicted whether they felt at ease expressing themselves to others. For example, Alison said that her family encouraged her to speak out. She said *"I guess the family I grew up in there [were not] a lot of negative consequences for speaking your voice."* Wingwalker 24 discussed the effect of negative and positive consequences on her sense of voice. She spoke of the negative consequences in telling her father about certain events that she encountered when she said, *"There are numerous times when I've done things and I knew my dad was going to react (....), so I didn't say them."* Wingwalker 24 also spoke about gauging what professors' reactions and negative or positive responses of expressing herself in her classes. She said, *"After awhile you kind of learn which has negative consequences and which has positive consequence."* Wingwalker 24 spoke about how she felt free to speak when she knew that others would react positively to her. She said, *"I might put up my hand and say [something] because I think it will garner, you know, respect from my classmates and my prof."*

In a description of how he refrained from sharing his discontent with a mentor figure, Erik said, *"Hearing things like that would not encourage her to help me out."* He believed that it was important to endure certain situations, and that sometimes expressing his feelings or opinions would result in an uncomfortable situation and negative

relationship. Like Erik and Wingwalker 24, Rachel also said that she refrained from sharing her opinions, to *"avoid disagreements,"* with a friend.

Some of the participants cared about how they presented themselves to others, and were concerned about what others thought of them. They indicated that their concern for what others thought related to their need to appear intelligent, and/or social desirable. For example, in reference to her classmates, Wingwalker 24 said, *"You want to actually appear like you know there is some idea of what you are talking about because you don't want to look like a total jackass in front of your class."* Kristi said, *"I guess I don't want them to think negatively, negative of me,"* when she shared that, she was concerned about what her superiors thought of her. Rachel said that she cared *"fifty- percent"* about what others thought about her, and that she did not want to *"sound dumb"* around others. In reference to her relationships with friends, Kone said, *"I am fairly careful about my interactions with my friends sometimes. I don't know, I try to be nice all the time."*

Robert and Alison said that they only cared about what people important to them thought of them. For example, Robert stated, *"If I don't know them well, it's much the opposite. I don't really care what they think of me. But at the same time, if I don't know them well, I am not going to be very open with them or share all that much."* Erik said that he cared about what people thought of him, but he also said, *"I think that if people think badly of me, I don't care."*

Familiarity with other people contributed to the participants' level of voice. However, these participants believed that the type and quality of the relationship with others affected their level of voice, their ease of expression and their repression of voice.

The relationships that the participants spoke about included those with intimate partners, and with their parents, family, friends, professors, and co-workers.

Those who discussed their voice in intimate relationships had a sense of hesitance or resistance in expressing their feelings and thoughts, felt a need to be careful and a experienced a sense of instability. They said that until they felt familiar with their partner they felt it was difficult to speak freely with the other person. Erik stated that he felt that relationships were different from regular friendships when he said,

> *It is harder to do than with a friend who will accept everything openly, and the person that you are interested in romantically might not. (...) I find that in a romantic relationship people tend to pull away faster if you reveal too much, if I reveal too much about myself too fast.*

Alison indicated that she found it difficult to express herself freely with her partner at the beginning of her relationship with him. She said, *"When I first started going out with him, I wasn't...like I was myself, but I would hold my tongue a little more often around him."* She indicated that when she felt more comfortable with the relationship she also began to express herself more freely. Unlike Erik and Alison, Rachel spoke about the strength of her relationship with her boyfriend. She said that her boyfriend confided in her and that their relationship was built on trust. However, she emphasized the instability inherent in their relationship when she said, *"I see us as the strongest, but also the most unstable. In a sense there [are] two people, and if one of us decides to end it, there is no relationship anymore."*

Wingwalker 24 discussed her difficulty in expressing herself with men. She believed that personal conversations with men could lead to potential intimate

relationships, and that she was always on guard when sharing information with men that she was just getting to know. She said that she stuck to what she called *"safe topics:"* with men because she said, *"Like you are trying to see, like can I see this is a potential friend or a potential mate even. So you want to put on a certain best airs. Then again you don't want to be fake either."* The idea of *"best airs"*, as discussed by Wingwalker 24 was like care and hesitation that Alison and Erik described.

We do not select our family; rather, we are part of a family through birth. The relationship with family may serve as a source of stability for some people, and for others family is a source of struggle. The participants shared that their relationship with their parents affected their level of voice, and some participants said that they experienced a change in relationship and their level of voice with their parents, after they moved away from home. Others indicated that they were more careful about what they shared with their parents because they still lived at home.

Jamie, Rachel, Alison, and Erik spoke of their own relationships with parents in a favourable manner. They all felt a sense of ease in expressing themselves with their parents. Both Jamie and Alison used the term *"open"* and said that sometimes they share *"too much,"* according to their parents. Rachel also felt that she had an open relationship with her parents, and that her relationship with her family gained strength when she left home. She felt that unlike the unstable nature of intimate relationships, her relationship with family was *"more constant than any other relationship."* Rachel said that she could seek guidance from her parents and that despite her behaviours, her family would always accept her.

Anne and Kristi also indicated that they experienced growth in their relationship with their parents after moving away from home. Anne said that she shared more with her parents than before, but that she still shared more with friends than she would with her parents. Kristi pointed out that though she and her father argued frequently when she lived at home, after she moved out, she and her parents spoke more frequently and that they had *"more to talk about."* However, Wingwalker 24, who lived with her parents, said that she needed to refrain from telling her parents certain information. She stated, *"I still live with my parents, and you know, they have the power to take away certain freedoms. So I omit certain truths."* Robert indicated that he felt that his relationship with his parents was somewhat *"apathetic"* and that he did not share his feelings with them. He said that he only shared practical information with his parents. Robert indicated that he did not share his feelings wit his parents. He said, *"Like emotions or anything like that. No, I don't talk to them about that. I am most comfortable talking with people [who] I am close friends with."*

Wingwalker 24 and Kone felt more comfortable sharing their thoughts and feelings with their mothers more than with their fathers. They both said that even though they were comfortable with their mothers, they still refrained from sharing everything with their mothers because they were aware of parent-child boundaries. Wingwalker 24 said, "*I am very open with my mom. Like I tell her everything. She is kind of like a best friend, but, at the same time, you can't quite tell your mom everything that goes on."* Kone described her mother as a friend. Like Wingwalker 24, she also stated *"but there is some stuff I don't tell her because of the parent, parental worry, and stuff like that."* Kone and Wingwalker 24 said that they chose not to share certain information with their

fathers. Wingwalker referred to her father as a *"worry-wart"*, and said, *"there have been numerous times when I have done things and knew my dad was going to react like that, so I just did not say them."* When talking about her father, Kone said, *"there is some stuff I will talk to him about and he just doesn't understand or something, like emotions and stuff....Oh he will respond negatively to stuff like that. Like he does not really know what to say."*

A few participants spoke about their voice in relation to other family members. Rachel said that she did not hesitate to argue with her sister because her sister accepted unconditionally. Alison indicated that she always felt at ease in expressing her thoughts and feelings with her friends and family, and Erik said that he had no difficulties expressing his feelings with his parents and sibling and his girlfriend. Wingwalker 24 stated, *"I don't have to change anything about myself when I am around my family. I am very comfortable. They know who I am."* In particular, she had a very strong relationship with one of her brothers and a brother-in-law. Jamie said that he was honest and open with his parents, but that he repressed his voice with extended family members in order to protect his parents. He believed that if he told his extended family that he was gay it would cause tensions and family conflicts that he did not wish his parents to experience.

While Kristi stated, "*you pick your friends right. You don't pick your family,"* most of the participants believed that their friends were a great source of support and that they felt that they could share more with their friends than anyone else. They experienced a sense of reciprocity, and equality with their friends. For example, Kristi spoke of having friends who "share the same interests". She said that she felt comfortable around her friends because she felt that they were not judgmental, and accepted her for who she

was. Kristi indicated that she did not have friends at the University and that she did not feel comfortable in conversing with other students: *"I don't really go out of my way to meet people at University because I do not feel comfortable."* Wingwalker 24 described her friends as equals, and felt comfortable in sharing her feelings with her friends. She spoke of a sense of reciprocity with her friends: *"So there is a lot more sympathy. More you know, verbal going back and forth between friends and say equal, that you know I am not going to have good experiences with adults."* Robert said that he was most comfortable in sharing his thoughts and feelings with his friends. He stated, *"I am most comfortable talking with people I am close friends with,"* and that his close friends were those individuals whom her conversed with over the Internet.

Jamie spoke of sharing different conversations with people in different relationships. He stressed that he felt more comfortable talking with women than with men. He also said that he only felt free to share topics like sexuality, with his gay friends. Kone pointed out that she gauged her conversations with people, and that she felt she needed to refrain from certain topics with her friends. She said, *"I know certain things I would not want to talk to them about, just because it wouldn't go over with them very well, or it would become awkward conversation."* Rachel also spoke of repressing her thoughts with friends. She stated that she wished to *"avoid disagreements"* with her friends.

These emerging adults believed that their friendships were important, and some of them indicated that they felt most comfortable sharing information with their friends than any other relational context. They believed that comfort, care, and reciprocity contributed to their sense of voice in friendships. Some of the participants said that they did not have

friends at the university, and others thought that the university was their primary social environment.

The participants in this study shared numerous thoughts about their level of voice with their classmates and professors. Some participants indicated that they had very little interaction with their professors and others said that they were cautious and/or apprehensive about speaking with their professors. Yet others expressed that they had a desire to impress the professors and wanted praise and respect from their classmates and professors.

Anne said that she was cautious when interacting with professors. She also wanted maintain respect for her professors. She stated:

> *I would be a bit more, like just really careful about what to say or just trying not to push the wrong buttons. (....) If you are trying to get something from them, I guess. I don't know, or if you want to have a good relationship, or your mark depends on it, or you just have to respect them.*

Rachel said that she was cautious when conversing with professors, because of a sense of distance between students and professors. She said, *"I am younger, and yeah, I am a student and they're profs."*

Kristi indicated that she was fearful and felt intimidated by her professors. She said that she preferred to avoid interactions with her professors so that they could not make any judgements about her. She said, *"They make me nervous because they are the ones who ultimately decide my future fate kind of thing. I find it easier to avoid them, than say anything."* Jamie preferred to go unnoticed in his classes. He said, *"I like the anonymity at the university."* He also stated that he preferred to be "just one of those

faces in the crowd." Jamie indicated that though he rarely interacted with his professors, he had no difficulty sharing positive information with his professors at the end of term. Erik said that he felt that his professors were *"very open and easy to talk to."* Alison also felt that she had no difficulties in talking with professors. She provided an example of a situation in which she confronted a professor, when in her view the professor had not shown respect toward her. She said, *"Even though it was an uncomfortable situation, I still had no problem expressing myself about it."*

Both Wingwalker 24 and Anne believed that the potential responses from classmates and professors, affected their level of voice and they indicated that they wanted to appear intelligent to their professors. Anne said, *"I guess I want to sound intelligent you know or, I guess sometimes I want them to notice me."* Wingwalker 24 said, "*I might put up my hand because I think it will garner you know respect from both my classmates and my prof."*

Some of the participants desired the attention of others, and others preferred to remain unnoticed. Some wanted to respect their professors, and wanted respect from professors and classmates whereas, others exercised caution when interacting with their professors. They also spoke of how the context, a sense of comfort and type of relationship with others affected their level of voice, and shared their thoughts and experiences about their voice in different relational contexts. In addition, the participants described their thoughts and experiences about imaginary audience. Some said that they used their imaginary audience, and others indicated that they did not engage in imaginary audience ideation at all.

The Use of Imaginary Audience

Imaginary audience is the reaction of others to oneself in imaginary situations (Lapsley & Rice, 1988, pp. 211-212). Some of the participants in this study indicated that they used imaginary audience when they felt uncomfortable with upcoming events, they anticipated negative reactions, and/or confrontation from others. Others said that they used imaginary audience to daydream about situations and the outcomes to those situations. Though many participants indicated that they experienced a heightened concern over their appearances and behaviours during adolescence, they did not feel the same concern as emerging adults. However, some participants believed that as emerging adults, they altered their behaviors or appearances in order to fit into an environment, appear socially desirable to others, or divert attention away from themselves.

Kone, Robert and Alison said that they did not engage in imaginary audience. However, Kristi, Anne, Rachel and Erik spoke using imaginary audience when they experienced discomfort or anticipated negative reactions from others. Kristi said that she engaged in imaginary audience to prepare herself for interactions in which she felt uncomfortable. She said, *"It would just be pretty much work, or you know, if I had a presentation at school, or if I had an exam or essay to write. You know that's where you start...."* Rachel explained that she used imaginary audience to avoid disagreements with a friend whom she felt often reacted in a negative manner. Rachel said that she imagined her friend as a *"collective audience of critical people....people who are insecure with themselves."*

Those individuals who used imaginary audience as a method of dealing with evaluation also used imaginary audience when they felt discomfort in certain situations,

and when they anticipated confrontation with others. Rachel spoke about her friend whom she viewed as a *"collective critical audience,"* and said that she engaged in imaginary audience in order to avoid the actual confrontational situation. She stated that the act of imagining herself confronting her friend made her to feel better and allowed her to cope with her interactions with this friend. She also said, *"I imagined myself saying something to somebody, but I never ended up doing it because I am afraid of confrontation."* Anne also reported using imaginary audience in order to prepare for confrontational situations. When she spoke of how she felt before confronting a roommate she said: *"if I am really worked up about something I totally analyze it constantly until I actually talk to them."*

Some of the participants indicated that they used imaginary audience in order to prepare for presentations as a way of rehearsing for the event. In reference to presentations, Rachel said, *"I always imagine or rehearse."* Anne indicated that she was more concerned about preparing herself than the audience reaction, and both Robert and Anne said that they used imaginary audience as a way of preparing for what they *"have to do."*

Erik and Alison reported that they did not use imaginary audience to prepare for presentations. Alison said that she concentrated *"on calming herself down internally,"* instead of using imaginary audience. Erik indicated that he just prepared the material as well beforehand. In addition, Kone stated that she did not like to think about the act of presenting, when she said, *"If I am supposed to be doing something like a presentation, I purposely do not think about it."*

The researcher asked participants whether they imagined themselves in real or imaginary situations. Both Erik and Wingwalker 24 described using imaginary audience as a form of fantasy or daydreaming about situations in which they performed acts such as saving the lives of others. Wingwalker 24 also spoke of how she imagined others' reactions to negative events such as her death. Erik imagined himself with superpowers. He said, *"I imagine myself as kind of a hero, kind of things with superpowers."* Erik believed that he was fortunate to have his ability to use his imagination. He said, *"I have a pretty vivid imagination. (...) Thank God, I have one. I don't know what I would do without one".* Wingwalker 24 indicated that she engaged in daydreaming before falling asleep at night. She said that she imagined other people's reactions to certain situations:

> *Like I'll just imagine these situations and a lot of time it is about me being physically hurt in the pursuit of saving somebody's life, and you know what it would be like if say I get cancer and died and how people's reactions would be like.*

Wingwalker 24 believed that her imagination was also *"a replacement for social expression."* In addition, she used imaginary audience to envision the details of situations like dates including what she would wear, what she and her date would eat, and what she would say to her date. Both Wingwalker 24 and Erik used the term daydreaming when referring to their use of imaginary audience.

Those participants who discussed their use of imaginary audience described their experiences in a variety of ways. Some used imaginary audience for preparation, and/ or to anticipate confrontation with others or negative outcomes. These participants described how they used imaginary audience as a coping mechanism. Other participants used

imaginary audience as a form of daydreaming. In addition, when the researcher asked the participants whether they experienced imaginary audience and their voice together, some participants indicated that they believed that there was a connection between their level of voice and the use of imaginary audience.

The Connection between Imaginary Audience and Voice

Scholars have suggested a relationship between imaginary audience and a need for connection, which also related to loss of voice (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). The researcher of this study found that the participants spoke about certain issues in their discussions of both voice and imaginary audience. Some participants made direct comments about a relationship between voice and imaginary audience. Other participants discussed masks, attention, and acting in reference to their voice and imaginary audience. In addition, when asked about the Internet and imaginary audience, several participants also to describe their sense of voice in relation to the Internet.

Anne, Erik, and Rachel identified a direct relationship between their voice and imaginary audience. Anne stated, *"The less ease I have in expressing myself, the more I might imagine myself."* Erik, however, described his experiences in a positive manner. He said, *"I guess you could say that if I imagine something more positively, I will act more positively."* Like Anne, Erik provided a direct relationship between his imagination and his voice and actions. Rachel referred to a *"critical audience"* when she described her use of imaginary audience. She also spoke of her difficulty in expressing herself with this "critical audience":

> *With the critical audience, I'd be more uncomfortable to express myself, who I really am, because I would be wondering if I should say this and if there are repercussions if I say that. But, in a more comfortable setting, I would express myself in whichever way I want.*

Anne, Erik, and Rachel, believed that there was an inverse relationship between their use of imaginary audience and their level of voice. They said that they used imaginary audience when they felt less ease expressing themselves with others. In addition, some participants spoke of "masks" and acting, when speaking of both imaginary audience and voice. They pointed out that they used acting and masks for self-protection, and to protect others with whom they were conversing. Wingwalker 24 said that she acted as a way of "omitting certain topics from the conversation." She wanted to preserve relationships with others, and to protect others from feeling any discomfort. Wingwalker 24 also omitted the truth with her parents as a form of self-protection. She said that with a particular friend, she felt a need to act more formal, which caused more discomfort. She said,

> *When I am around her, you know, I kind of I just do act. And actually around her specifically that was actually when I felt a lot of anxiety, and it was actually physically fatiguing because I felt that I couldn't quite be myself."*

In addition, Wingwalker 24 spoke of *"kind of like trying to be a chameleon. You just try to fit in with your environment."* She wanted to change herself to fit in with the people in her environment and said, *"I guess I do present myself differently."* Kone also felt that she needed to act in order to get through conversations with others. She said,

I have to get things over with for the day and pretend certain things just to get over with certain conversations. (...) I'll put on a happy face for them. You know it is sort of like walking around with a bubble over my head.

Jamie and Rachel used the term "mask" in describing their use of acting. They both drew on their masks for self-protection, and to in order to conceal information from other people. Jamie said that he used his masks at work, in order to conceal his homosexuality and to avoid negative reactions from those people around him. He viewed masking his sexuality in a positive manner, because he felt that it was the only part of himself that he hid from others. He said, *"I think that it is actually a fortunate thing. Because in the process of being forced to mask that I can't continually mask other portions of my personality. So people always know who I am."*

Like Jamie, Rachel spoke of using masks. However, Rachel spoke negatively of her masks, because she felt that she used them to conceal the real person behind the mask. She said,

Along with fakeness comes a different face. So a different face means a mask, you know, a barrier. You know something that a person builds up either to protect themselves or mimic what other people think of them. I would rather have a person like me for who I am instead of liking a lie.

Rachel also indicated that she used her masks when she felt threatened. She said, *"I erect it when provoked. (...) I don't like my masks."*

Some of the participants spoke of diverting attention away from themselves in reference to both voice and imaginary audience, and others indicated that they enjoyed receiving attention from others. For example, when referring to her superiors at work,

Kristi said that she wanted to *"stay off their radar."* She preferred to go unnoticed by her superiors because she did not want her superiors to form a negative impression of her. She also mentioned that she tried to go unnoticed with her professors, because she did not want them to judge her. Kone said that when she was tired or in a bad mood, she tried to blend into the crowd so that she would not *"stick out."*

Unlike Kone, Alison spoke about her differences as a source of pride. She pointed out that she liked receiving attention because of her height. However, like Kone, Alison said, *"Some days I am tired of it, but nine times out of ten I don't mind. Most of the time I actually enjoy it. I take pleasure in it, pride in it."* Wingwalker 24 spoke of a desire to be the centre of attention, in particular when in a positive setting: *"I like being the centre of attention. (...) Though I may dominate, you know, part of a conversation, it will usually be toward entertaining the people. "* Anne also said that because she liked the attention of her professors, she was careful about what she shared in class discussions. Some individuals liked attention and others wanted blend in, or go unnoticed in certain situations and relationships, and they spoke of attention in reference to both voice and imaginary audience.

The Internet is one medium in which those with whom we converse with may be known or unknown to us. In addition, there lies a possibility for anonymity and the use of imaginary audience. Few participants in this study conversed about imaginary audience and the Internet. However, some participants spoke of their sense of voice concerning their experiences with the Internet.

Robert said that his primary source of socialization was through conversations with others over the Internet. He felt a felt a sense of freedom and anonymity using the

Internet. He said, *"I think I am more comfortable online just because [in] that sort of medium there is less of a pressure to respond immediately."* He also felt that he was not as concerned about what he said to others over the Internet. He stated, *"They are far away and can't do anything."* Kone said that she did not feel comfortable conversing with others over the Internet, because she was unable to see the other person(s) and really know what they were saying. She stated, *"I stopped using MSN* [Microsoft Network instant messaging] *because I thought it was bad for me. Because you can't tell emotions. I used to use it a lot, but you can't tell how people are acting."*

Alison indicated that her relationship with others determined what she would share with others, over the Internet. She said that if she was involved in her business or writing to an author of a journal article she was more formal than with her friends. She indicated that with people she knows she was *"really friendly."*

Rachel wanted to verify that she had some level of familiarity with a person before conversing with someone online. She also indicated that she felt a sense of discomfort when those people who were unknown to her approached her online. Jamie stated, *"I do use a profiling system,"* and he indicated that he needed to spend more time with schoolwork and so he had stopped chatting with others online. However, Jamie said he used the Internet as a substitute for telephone conversations with friends, because he felt more comfortable using the Internet than the telephone. Like Kone, Wingwalker 24 had concerns about using the Internet and her ability to express herself freely. She said, *"I feel the Internet usually limits the amount I can express."* Wingwalker 24 was unlike Robert in that he felt that he could express himself freely and share what he wished more than he could in person, and she felt restricted by the Internet. Though most participants

addressed aspects related to imaginary audience concerning the Internet such as anonymity, knowing the audience and gauging the conversation, it was apparent that most were also concerned with expressing themselves with others and how much they would share with people.

Anne, Erik and Rachel made specific connections between voice and imaginary audience. Others made connections through their discussions about acting, masks, and whether they wanted attention from others or not. These participants associated acting, using masks, and going unnoticed with lower levels of voice and imaginary audience. Those who spoke about discomfort in using the Internet also reported lower levels of voice on the Internet, in comparison to those who spoke positively about their Internet experiences.

The nine participants provided diverse information about voice, imaginary audience and their experiences concerning a connection between voice and imaginary audience. Each of these individuals provided valuable information that contributes to our understanding of level of voice and imaginary audience in emerging adults.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Separate discussions of the findings from the quantitative and qualitative analyses performed in this study, in which the researcher examined level of voice, and imaginary audience among emerging adult university students are provided below.

Discussion of Quantitative Findings

Voice, Gender and Gender Orientation

The researcher investigated the relationships between gender, gender orientation, level of voice and imaginary audience, expecting to find significant relationships between gender orientation and voice, as reported by other researchers in the past (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell & Kastelic, 1998; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002). In this dissertation, level of voice with parents, with women classmates and men classmates were positively correlated with masculine gender orientation. These results were similar to those found by Smolak and Munstertieger (2002), who reported that higher levels of masculinity were related to higher levels of voice. However, unlike Smolak and Munstertieger, who reported negative correlations between feminine gender orientation and level of voice with men classmates, women classmates and professors, the researcher in this study found that feminine gender orientation was positively correlated with levels of voice with parents, but not with classmates or with professors.

Consistent with the past empirical research findings, the researcher in this study did not observe gender differences between men and women on level of voice with

parents, women classmates, men classmates, or with professors (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997; Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002). However, the researcher found that women had higher scores of feminine gender orientation than did men. Her findings appear to fit with past researchers suggestions that women take on the stereotypical characteristics related to femininity more than men do (Lapsley, 1993; Lapsley FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989), and that individuals mold themselves to stereotypic gender roles constructed through social interactions with others (Bosacki, 2005; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, 2003; Harter et al. 1997, Harter et al., 1998; Rogers, 1993).

In this study, the researcher observed a positive correlation between level of voice with women classmates and level of voice with professors when considering men and women together. She also uncovered a positive correlation between level of voice with men classmates and level of voice with professors. It is interesting to note that these relational contexts (classmates and professors) are public contexts, unlike private contexts in which relationships are generally more intimate in nature (i.e. voice with parents). Harter, Whitesell, and Waters (1997) considered public-private contexts in relation to voice, but they limited their investigation to girls only.

Imaginary Audience and Voice

The researcher expected to uncover strong positive relationships between imaginary audience and level of voice in different relational contexts, given the suggestions that imaginary audience is related to feminine themes of connectedness, which some say is also related to loss of voice (e.g. Lapsley, FitzGerald, & Rice, 1989;

Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). Bosacki (2005) suggested that the audiences might influence how individuals behave (pp. 102-103). However, in this study, the researcher found only one very weak negative correlation between imaginary audience ideation and level of voice with men classmates and she did not observe any significant correlations between gender orientation and imaginary audience, or between imaginary audience and gender. These results of this study with emerging adult university students contradicted the suggestions between imaginary audience and the need for connection in relationships as part of loss of voice (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). These results are of particular interest to both developmental psychologists and educators, as this study was the first to examine the connection between voice and imaginary audience using quantitative measures.

Imaginary Audience, Voice, and Academic Success

Initially, the researcher examined the variables of voice, imaginary audience, and gender orientation, in relation to grade point average (GPA). However, she did not find any relationship between level of voice and imaginary audience, and there were no differences of imaginary audience between those with a low, medium or high GPA, which suggests that for these emerging adults, academic success did not affect imaginary audience.

The researcher found that level of voice with parents, with professors, and feminine gender orientation differed among those with low, medium, and high GPA. Differences were revealed between low and medium GPA, and between low and high GPA. In other words, those with less academic success differed from those with greater

success on level of voice with parents and on scores of feminine gender orientation. Those with the low GPA also differed from those with high GPA on level of voice with professors. In particular, it is interesting to note the differences between low and high GPA in relational contexts involving a possible sense of power distance and authority (i.e. parents and professors).

Some scholars reported that those who identify with more feminine traits may have a greater need for connection in relationships (Gilligan, 1982; Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). In light of these suggestions, the differences in feminine gender orientation between those with high and low GPA and those with medium and low GPA in this study, might indicate that those participants who had a higher GPA had higher scores of feminine gender orientation, might also have greater need for connections in relationships. This finding also ties in with the suggestion that academic success relates positively to social adjustment (Montgomery & Coté, 2003).

Discussion of Qualitative Findings

Having and Losing Voice

Gilligan (1993) stated, "to have voice is to be human. To have something to say is to be a person. But speaking depends on listening and being heard; it is an intensely relational act" (p. xvi). Some of the participants in this study described their voice with specific terms and phrases, such as *"loud," "difficult to shut up" and "bolder"*, which captured a sense of intensity or strength associated with having voice. Intensity was also described as a sense of urgency to speak: *"if I have something to say and I don't say it, it*

burns up inside of me" (Alison). In general, having voice was associated with a sense of ease in expressing oneself with others. On the other hand, some of the participants believed that they needed to exercise caution by "testing the water" or "feeling the water" (Jamie and Kone) with others, before they would share their thoughts and feelings, which indicated a sense of hesitance or ambivalence in using one's voice.

For the most part, the participants in this study focused on the strength of their relationships, the dynamic and the situational context as important variables in their sense of voice. Comfort, familiarity, and confidence were also associated with having voice. The context and relationship also affected their sense of voice. Gilligan (1993) stated that, "relationship requires connection" (p. xix), which was the focus of these emerging adults' conversations about having and losing voice.

Many individuals spoke about their repression or loss of voice in certain relationships and situations, indicating that discomfort, avoidance of arguments, negative consequences, a difference in power (i.e. superior- subordinate, parent-child, teacher-student, etc.), self-preservation, protection of others, and a need to appear desirable to others caused them to repress their voices. These reasons for repressing voice fit with the work of Gilligan and her colleagues (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 1993; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990), in which they found that individuals repressed their voice to maintain connections in relationships.

The participants in this study described their sense of voice in different relationships (e.g. with parents, family, friends, classmates, professors, intimate others, superiors, and colleagues. While some of the participants expressed similar experiences, there were individual differences in their perceptions of their different relationships, and

of their voice in those relationships. Those individuals who believed they had a strong relationship(s) with others felt at ease when expressing their thoughts and feelings with others. Those individuals who felt discomfort in certain relationships, or a difference in power with other persons, had a lowered sense of voice and repressed their thoughts, feelings, and knowledge with others. The participants' experiences fit with the characteristics of emerging adulthood, which include, a time of change, instability, self-focus, a period when new relationships develop, and existent relationships change (Arnett, 2000, 2004). In addition, emerging adults who attend university must learn to negotiate relationships in the classroom with professors and classmates (Weinstein, 1988).

In this study, those individuals who felt a need to impress their professors and classmates also indicated that they were cautious about expressing their thoughts, feelings, and their knowledge in the classroom because they felt a need to appear intelligent to others. Those who said that they felt inferior to their classmates refrained from speaking out in class. Some believed that the difference in power between professors and students affected their sense of voice and that they could not speak freely to professors. Yet others indicated that they felt more comfortable sharing their thoughts with certain professors more than with others, because some professors encouraged student responses and ingenuity. A few individuals indicated that they did not speak to their professors because they had very little or no contact with their professors.

During emerging adulthood, many individuals develop close relationships with friends and romantic partners (Arnett, 2000, 2004; Eccles, Templeton, Barber, & Stone, 2003; Korobov & Thorne, 2006; Lefkowitz, 2005; Lefkowitz, Boone, & Shearer, 2004;

Scharf, Mayseless, & Kivenson-Brown, 2004). Lefkowitz, Boone, and Shearer (2004) suggested that emerging adults spend more time in "face-to-face interactions" (p. 339) with their friends than do people in any other period of life. Many of the participants in this study focused on the importance of their friendships and indicated that they spent most of their social time in the presence of their friends. Several participants also suggested that they felt more comfortable sharing their thoughts, feelings and knowledge with their friends than with anyone else. One participant (Robert) said that he did not spend much time in face-to-face interaction with friends, but rather interacted with friends online. Like the participants who spent most time in the presence of friends, he stressed the importance of his friends, indicated that he felt most comfortable expressing his thoughts and feelings with his friends. Some of the other participants indicated that they also used the Internet to converse with friends, a fact that may suggest that emerging adults do not limit their interactions to face-to-face conversations.

The emerging adults in this study experienced higher levels of voice with friends whom they felt were equals and with those whom they felt a sense of reciprocity. They repressed their voices when they wanted to fit in with others or appear desirable, and when they sensed conflict, or differences in ideology. However, many of these emerging adults said that felt most comfortable sharing their feelings with their friends than in any other relational context.

According to Arnett (2004), "today's emerging adults spend more years single and dating than young people in previous generations…" (p. 97). Some of the emerging adults in this study spoke about their sense of voice in romantic relationships. A few participants felt that they needed to exercise caution in the beginning stages of getting to

know their partner. Some also wanted to impress their partner in order to gain respect. These individuals indicated that once they felt comfortable with their partner, they had fewer problems sharing their thoughts, feelings and knowledge with the other person. One participant described her relationship with her boyfriend as *"the strongest, but also the most unstable"* (Rachel). She explained that though she felt that the relationship was strong, it was still unlike a relationship with members of her family because she was aware that either partner could end the relationship at any time. Her awareness of the potential termination of a relationship fits with the ideas of exploration and uncertainties characteristic of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004). The participants in this study characterized the development of their romantic relationships as exploratory, exciting, validating, and, for some, unstable. In addition, these emerging adults said that familiarity, trust and comfort affected their sense of voice in the progression of relationships with potential partners. While these emerging adults focused on building relationships, they also experienced changes in their already existent relationships, including relationships with parents and family members.

Relationships with parents change as individuals expand their relational circles and spend less time with family. Some of the participants in this study indicated that they felt that their relationship with their parents became stronger after they moved away from home (Anne, Kristi, and Rachel). These individuals believed that distance from their parents and greater independence allowed them to develop a stronger and more collegial relationship with their parents, which fits with the existent literature concerning emerging adult relationships with parents (e.g. Arnett, 2004; Beyers, & Goossens, 2003; Eccles, Templeton, Barber, & Stone, 2003; Lapsley, Rice, & FitzGerald, 1990; Montgomery &

Coté, 2003). A few individuals who lived with their parents said that they felt that they had a positive relationship with their parents and indicated that their parents encouraged independent thinking, or that their parents treated them less like their children and more like friends. Some participants felt as though they could speak more freely with one parent than with the other. However, they also provided a caveat, stating that they would not share everything with the parent of their choice because of the parent-child relationship and the parent's right to exercise control over them. For some individuals, conversations with parents were limited to pragmatic and factual discussions. One participant (Wingwalker 24) pointed out that while she enjoyed certain comforts of living with her parents, she also felt a sense of strain because of her dependent status. She experienced a sense of anxiety and wanted freedom to explore her identity, which perhaps relates to the idea of self-focus as described by Arnett (2004, 2006b). This description illustrated the challenge that emerging adults face in balancing the need for self-direction and the need for connection in relationships.

Though emerging adulthood is a time of self-focus (Arnett, 2004, 2006b), it is important to note that the exploration of one's role in relationships also becomes increasingly important to individuals within this life period. Emerging adults build new relationships and work to maintain existent relationships. As their lives change, their relationships change, and so do their roles within those relationships. Relationships affect one's voice, and the need for connection with others affects one's voice, especially when one represses his or her voice. The dynamic of the relationships, level of comfort, and familiarity all affect a person's sense of voice. Gilligan (1993) said "to have voice is to be human. To have something to say is to be a person. But speaking depends on listening

and being heard; it is an intensely relational act (p. xvi). However, one's aspiration to appear desirable, need for reciprocity, and concerns about evaluation and consequences affect how we interact with others whether we have voice or lose it. Our interactions with people can affect our voice and our perceptions of relationships. Britzman (1991) stated, "voice suggests relationships: the individual's relationship to the meaning of her or his lived experience and hence to language and the individual's relationship to the other since understanding is social" (p. 23). Gilligan (1993) stressed, "voice is a new key for understanding the psychological, social, and cultural order—a litmus test of relationships and a measure of psychological health" (p. xvi).

The Use of Imaginary Audience

When using imaginary audience, a person pictures situations and interactions with others that are unlike the actual event because the individual can play out several scenarios without having to experience the event. In this study, some emerging adults spoke of their use of imaginary audience ideation, while others indicated that they did not engage in imaginary audience ideation. However, most of the participants recalled a heightened sense of imaginary audience that they experienced during adolescence, a period, which for some lasted until they completed their first years of university. They said that their imaginary audience during adolescence involved a preoccupation with appearances, behaving in ways that were desirable to others, and fitting into in their social environment. The descriptions of adolescent imaginary audience fit with the primary literature concerning imaginary audience (Elkind, 1967, Lapsley 1993; Lapsley and Murphy, 1985), and with ideas presented by theorists of adolescent development (e.g.

Erikson, 1968; Gilligan, 1982, 1993), who suggested that the adolescent focuses on his or her need for social feedback and evaluation from others.

Those individuals who used using imaginary audience as emerging adults believed that their experiences differed from their experiences during adolescence. As emerging adults, they felt that they were not preoccupied with their appearances and they were less concerned with social feedback. These emerging adults engaged in imaginary audience to prepare for interactions with others, and, used it to cope with the stress, discomfort, and anticipated negative reactions from others. This use of imaginary audience fits with Lapsley and Murphy's (1985) suggestion that imaginary audience allows an individual "to prepare and manage the affective experience of social interaction" (p. 121).

Some participants pointed out that they used imaginary audience to prepare for presentations at school and at work, which they viewed as positive use of imaginary audience. Those who used imaginary audience to prepare for presentations felt that it was good to work through the steps of the presentation to ensure that they were prepared. Many emphasized that they were less concerned with evaluation than with rehearsing ideas, so that they could present their ideas and opinions in an effective and efficient manner. Others who felt discomfort with presentations indicated that imaginary audience allowed them to envision a positive outcome and prepare for the event in a more effective way than if they simply remained fearful of the outcome.

Most of the individuals who indicated that they engaged in imaginary audience ideation focused on their relationships and how the possible outcomes of their actions affected their used of their imaginary audience, which for them was unlike the egocentric

preoccupations that they experienced during adolescence. These emerging adults used imaginary audience as a strategy to deal with issues, to think about situations, to prepare for the unknown, and to cope with impending situations. These participants focused on the importance of their relationships with others, which was also a large part of their discussions concerning voice.

Items about fantasy and daydreaming may be found in the New Imaginary Audience Scale (Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989). However, Lapsley and his colleagues seemed to have simplified this form of imaginary audience in their detailed descriptions of the "new look" at imaginary audience. Rather, Lapsley (1993) referred only to object-relational ideation as "the private interpersonal fantasies that prepare the adolescent for interpersonal interactions" (p. 566). In this study, those who reported using imaginary audience as a form of fantasy or daydreaming suggested that they imagined themselves in different roles including life saving and super-hero like roles (Erik and Wingwalker 24), and they imagined the reactions of others to situations like their own death (Wingwalker 24). These individuals spoke of this use of imaginary audience as a constructive activity, which was enjoyable and at times a substitute of social interaction.

Arnett (2004) described emerging adulthood as a period of self-focus, in which individuals "develop skills for daily living, gain better understanding of who they are and what they want from life, and begin to build a foundation for their adult lives" (p. 13). He suggested that while emerging adults focus on themselves, they do not forget the importance of their consideration for others (p. 214). In the development of identity, it is of benefit for one to understand one's roles in relationships, and the consequences of one's actions on relationships and situations. For this reason, imaginary audience might

be a healthy adaptive tool during emerging adulthood and other periods of life. The participants in this study who spoke about imaginary audience used it as an adaptive tool that allowed them to cope with issues and imagine various forms of social interaction in a safe environment. In addition, those who spoke of imaginary audience provided connections between their use of imaginary audience and their voice. Some made specific connections, while others referred to the same issues in both their descriptions of both voice and imaginary audience.

The Connection between Imaginary Audience and Voice

The importance of connection in relationships was salient in the participants' discussions of voice and imaginary audience. Through these conversations, some relationships or connections between imaginary audience and levels of voice also surfaced. Some individuals provided direct statements about their voice in relation to imaginary audience. However, they also made various connections through the discussions of imaginary audience and voice together, including descriptions of using masks, wanting attention or diverting attention away from oneself, and feeling the need to act in situations. Those who made direct connections between voice and imaginary audience said that lower levels of voice were associated with greater imaginary audience ideation, except for the of the use of imaginary audience as an enjoyable activity (Erik).

In the world of theatre, actors play out different roles, taking on different characters and identities that serve to entertain an audience. Dressed in costumes and perhaps wearing masks, these actors change their character to suit the needs of a play. In real life, people have their own dramas, shifting between roles and altering themselves in

ways that allow them to fit into situations and relationships. Perhaps Shakespeare best summed it up in Jaques' famous speech,

> All the world's a stage,
>
> And all the men and women merely players:
>
> They have their exits and their entrances;
>
> And one man in his time plays many parts. (*As you like it,* Act 2, Scene 7)

However, while the job of an actor may be a great challenge and demand extraordinary skill, he or she is acting a part, and there would be no relationship at stake.

In this study, some participants discussed using acting and masks in reference to both imaginary audience and voice. Those who engaged in acting and using masks, used them to protect themselves, to avoid negative outcomes, and to conceal what they were really thinking and feeling. In addition, some acted to so that they would look desirable to others, or would make favourable impressions on others, and to avoid negative consequences. Acting and masks were associated with lower levels of voice and greater imaginary audience ideation. Lapsley and Murphy (1985) suggested that in using imaginary audience, the individual [was] able to see "himself/herself as both actor and object" (p. 209). The acting and using masks described by the participants allowed them to hide or conceal information, to fit into particular relationships, and into environments, similar to of repressing one's voice as found in the literature concerning loss of voice (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 1993).

In addition to acting or using masks, some of the participants spoke of diverting attention away from themselves. This act of diversion fits very well with the literature concerning loss of voice, in which individuals excluded themselves from a situation in order to maintain a feeling of desirability (Gilligan, Lyons & Hammer, 1990). This diversion of attention also corresponded with the idea of self-consciousness found in the literature pertaining to imaginary audience (Elkind, 1967; Lapsley, 1993; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985). It is important to note that while some individuals said that most of the time they liked receiving attention from others they also indicated that they liked attention when they were most confident, did not feel self-conscious, and felt uninhibited in expressing their thoughts, feelings, and knowledge. Those who liked attention described feelings that were opposite to feelings expressed by individuals who chose to divert attention away from themselves.

In response to a question about their Internet use and imaginary audience, many of the participants in this study, actually focused on their sense of voice in relation to their Internet use. However, consistent with the literature relating to imaginary audience, some participants indicated that they tailored their conversations in ways that they felt would solicit a favourable response from their audience (Lapsley 1993; Lapsley and Murphy, 1985). They wanted to appear as though they were professional with those who unknown to them, and maintain respect for others. They also said that they were more at ease with their friends and family, and felt that they could take more liberties with them. These participants reported that they did not assume alternate identities in their Internet use.

Though it is inevitable that university students need to use the Internet, these emerging adults provided varied opinions about the Internet and how they felt it affected their daily lives. These opinions appear to be consistent with research pertaining to the effects of computer mediated communication (e.g. Bargh and McKenna, 2004; Ben-Ze'ev, 2003; Carter, 2004). Some participants believed that Internet activities such as E-mail stifled their sense of ease of expression, and some participants indicated that they felt discomfort, because they felt that they could not really gauge the reactions of those with whom they were corresponding. Others indicated that they had ceased using chat rooms or Internet messaging systems because of their discomfort with the unknown reactions of others. Similar to imaginary audience ideation, these participants were concerned about the audience reaction and the interaction over the Internet. However, Internet interaction does not usually involve face-to-face reaction. In addition, these participants' opinions on the limitations of the Internet contradicted the findings of Kruger, Epley, Parker, and Ng (2005) who suggested that people overestimated their effectiveness in discerning the intent and non-verbal cues of other's messages. However, researchers have also suggested that computer mediated communication allowed people to communicate in a more relaxed manner than in face-to face communication (Kibby, 2005) which for some participants was true. Some individuals said that they used Instant Messaging and e-mail as a primary method of communication, to stay connected with their friends and family members. For some, the Internet activity replaced the telephone, and for one individual, Internet activity served as a substitute for face-to-face conversation. However, many participants were careful to point out that while they had high levels of voice with those known to them on the Internet, they were also very

cautious in conversations and did not express themselves freely with those unknown to them.

Some of these emerging adults used the Internet primarily as a tool to remain connected with friends and family, which is an growing trend in society (Boase, Horrigan, Wellman, & Rainie, 2006; Kibby, 2005; Rotermann, 2001, Statistics Canada, 2004; Zamaria, Caron, & Fletcher, 2005). Others indicated that they were less inclined to use the Internet as a primary means of communication because they did not feel as though they could express themselves freely, or did not feel that they could read the thoughts and feelings of others, were often uncertain that others would understood what they had to say with accuracy. Despite the differing opinions that these participants provided about their sense of voice, imaginary audience, and Internet use, it was apparent that when they felt comfortable with the situation and/or the audience, they also had greater sense of ease in expressing themselves, and were not concerned with others' reactions. However those who felt uncomfortable said that they were concerned because they could not judge others' reactions and felt as though they could not express themselves freely, suggesting a concern over audience reactions. This concern over comfort, ease of expression, and the audience reaction together provided a greater connection between voice and imaginary audience for these emerging adults.

In the English language, the terms connection and relationship may almost serve as synonyms for one another. As Gilligan (1993) pointed out "relationship requires connection" (p. xix). In addition, in a psychological sense when one is in a relationship some connection between the individuals involved is necessary. The emerging adult participants in this study focused on their relationships in their discussions of both voice

and imaginary audience. Some of these participants provided varied examples of their experiences that pointed toward some connections between the concepts of imaginary audience and voice in their lives. For the individuals who made connections, the less ease they felt or the more they repressed their voice the more likely they were to engage in imaginary audience ideation and all because they felt a need to preserve a relationship in some way. Relationship with others and maintaining connections appeared to be of utmost importance in the lives of these emerging adults.

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The findings from this study provide valuable information and serve to guide future research on level of voice and imaginary audience with emerging adults. The quantitative results of this study did not reveal a relationship between imaginary audience and level of voice, contradicting scholars' suggestions that individuals engaging in imaginary audience also seek connectedness, which is associated with level of voice (Lapsley, 1993; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989; Vartanian, 2000). However, the qualitative findings were consistent with these suggestions. In the future, researchers might engage in extensive qualitative research in order to establish the issues most pertinent to emerging adults in the contexts of voice and imaginary audience. Arnett (2004) indicated that emerging adulthood is the most self-focused period of life. Given this self-focus, individuals within this developmental period may be more reflective when asked open-ended questions. When the researcher asked the interview participants for comments on the questionnaires completed in the study, some of them indicated a preference for open-ended questions (Anne, Jamie, and Robert). They suggested that open-ended questions allowed participants to reflect more on seminal issues, and could provide researchers with rich information.

When asked to comment on the questionnaires used in this study, Rachel remarked that the Level of Voice Questionnaire (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998) did not contain items about negative contexts or emotions, or dealing with conflicts and disagreements. The interview data revealed that conflict and negative emotions were of importance to level of voice and imaginary audience for the participants. The themes that evolved from the interviews provided valuable information that may serve to direct

researchers toward investigating issues that concern emerging adults. Perhaps researchers should focus on positive and negative aspects related to voice and imaginary audience.

Some of the participants in this study revealed that they engaged in imaginary audience, which they believed was connected to their voice. Other individuals also reported a fantasy element in their use of imaginary audience. Given these findings, it would be of great benefit to continue to investigate the connection between voice and imaginary audience. It is also of interest to examine the fantasy aspect of imaginary audience, and explore differences between those who use fantasy and those who do not.

Researchers may wish to expand the number of relational contexts when considering voice including contexts that emerging adults specifically identify as significant. In addition, the quantitative portion of this study was limited to the distinction between men and women only. However, it would be of considerable interest to consider diverse groups, such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans-identified, and queer (LGBTQ),[13] visible minority groups, and religious groups. Studies with individuals from varied groups may further our understanding of these cultures, and provide more knowledge about imaginary audience and level of voice among emerging adults and those in other periods of development. The addition of relational contexts and questions to the scales may warrant the development of new scales. However, in order to develop such scales, researchers need to consider what emerging adults deem as significant, so that the scales are most reflective of the diversity encountered within emerging adulthood. Tools such as focus groups, daily diaries, and Internet-based logs (blogs), might allow for in-depth, detailed information that may not be attained using traditional self-report methods. In

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[13] Terms retrieved from the AGAPE website on March 26, 2005, at www.ualberta.ca/~cied/eps/AgapeVerdana.htm

addition, tools such as daily diaries could add to interview processes, allowing the participant to document their thoughts, and beliefs over time and through various experiences. Some researchers have moved toward Internet based diaries, known as web logs or blogs, in their research (Suzuki, 2004). Dieu (2004) stated that one of the purposes of blogs is "to invite people to react and think about issues that affect them" (p. 4). While there are advantages to the use of blogs, one must also consider the disadvantages and the purpose of the research before engaging in Internet based research, because of increased anonymity that the Internet may provide (see Bargh & McKenna, 2004).

Future researchers may wish to consider using longitudinal studies, which allow one to study individuals and groups of people over time. In this study, the participants were volunteers from a large western university. However, researchers may wish to consider other universities across the nation, and perhaps researchers can examine national similarities and differences among emerging adults.

Within this study, the researcher considered academic success (grade point average-GPA) in relation to imaginary audience and voice. Differences in GPA and level of voice with parents and with professors were uncovered. Those students with low GPA standing also had lower scores on level of voice with parents than those with medium GPA and high GPA. In addition, those with low GPA also differed from those with high GPA on level of voice with professors. It would be of great benefit for researchers and educators to know more about academic success and level of voice and the effects that voice may have on student success. The lower levels of voice with parents and levels of voice with professors may reflect a sense of power distance (parent-child and professor-

student relationships). What we know is that there are differences among students concerning academic success and voice. However, now we need to investigate more concerning those differences from the students themselves. The findings concerning academic success and level of voice have implications for educators dealing with emerging adult university students. Those individuals with lower grades are less likely to voice their feelings and knowledge with professors. Those students who are more self-regulated are often more successful, and help seeking is part of self-regulation (Black & Deci, 2000; Ley & Young, 1998; Weinstein, 1988; Zimmerman, 2002). If students do not feel at ease sharing their thoughts and feelings with professors, perhaps they do not seek help when needed. As educators, we need to place more effort on fostering a positive and open environment for students, which would encourage students to converse with their peers and professors. However, this suggestion does not mean that we should decrease standards of excellence. Rather, we should strive to provide students with a safe and respectful environment, so that they may share and learn with others.

While the researcher read about the Internet and anonymity on the Internet (Ahuja & Galvin, 2002; Bargh & McKenna, 2004; Ben Ze'ev, 2003), the phrase "Internet connection" kept entering her mind. She then had the following question: While the Internet requires a human connection, why do so many people feeling disconnected in their relationships? Perhaps this disconnection relates to the loss of voice and if so, what do people experience and how do they experience loss of voice?

The Internet can be a powerful tool facilitating relationships, both real and imaginary. After reading Dibbell (1998), Lewis (2001), McCloud (2001), and Schiesel (1997), the researcher began by thinking that the participants in this study might have

been involved in computer mediated communication, allowing for a heightened sense of anonymity on the Internet. However, what the researcher found out from these participants was different from what she read about in the literature on the Internet. These participants did not engage in activities specifically related to anonymity or gaming in cyberspace. In fact, some participants were opposed to Internet activity, because they did not feel that they could express themselves adequately. Other participants spoke of the Internet as their preferred source of communication, and many presented Internet use as a normal life activity. In this study, the participants provided the researcher with valuable information that reflected their experiences.

Researchers who are interested in investigating imaginary audience, anonymity and the use of cyberspace (gaming multi-user domains, etc.), might focus on individuals who engage in such activities. However, we still need to know more about emerging adults' Internet activity, imaginary audience, and anonymity. Ben-Ze'ev (2003) argued that "relationships are to a certain degree imaginary, as they lack some fundamental characteristics of face-to face relationships" (p. 457). This statement suggests that despite one's degree of familiarity with others, the act of communicating over the Internet makes part of the communication an act of the imagination. Bargh and McKenna (2004) stated that the anonymity during Internet communication could allow for greater self-expression. However, the lack of non-verbal cues in conversations allow for greater interpretation (p. 586), which may also be related to imaginary audience ideation. We need to know more about what this imaginary audience means to emerging adults.

Some professors require students to chat with peers on the Internet about course materials that instructors regulate and grade. Would the professor's evaluation or

involvement affect what the students choose to express online? While one recognizes that monitoring and evaluation are necessary, educators need to be aware of the effect of their presence and the effect that evaluation may have on student participation and involvement in required Internet chat discussions. If the goal is to foster learning, educators and researchers need to focus on creating environments conducive to learning. In order to do that, we need to ask the emerging adults who are directly involved what they think and feel about Internet discussions, and evaluation.

Several researchers suggested that emerging adults develop stronger relationships with their parents once they have moved away from home (Arnett, 2000, 2004; Lefkowitz, 2005; O'Connor, Allan, Bell, & Hauser, 1996). In this study, some of the participants indicated that their relationship with their parents grew after they left home. However, while some individuals who lived at home described a sense of strain in their relationship with their parents, others felt that they experienced positive relationships with one or both of their parents. Perhaps researchers need to explore the specific differences in voice, which individuals experience while living at home or away from home. Wingwalker 24 summed up the diversity among emerging adults in various areas of daily life. She said:

> *University can be a completely different experience for everybody, just you know, the way they think about it and I think a lot of it has to do with where you are living and who you are living with. Whether it is by yourself or a few roommates or you're still at home. Me being still at home, I find that I still feel like a kid in a lot of ways because, you know, my parents don't believe that "Golden Rule", that once you are 18 you are an adult,*

therefore you can engage in whatever activities you feel can provide you with the best pleasure.

So, when I joke with my dad about [certain things], uh-uh, it's not funny. But with that sort of thing, living at home I feel that I still have a whole bunch more boundaries than I would had I moved out. I'm not saying that I hate living at home. It works well for me. I get along with my parents, free food and laundry service, free rent, while I'm going to school, because I don't have a job this year. Though I tried to hold on to a very minimal part-time job last year, and then I worked in the summer. It works out well. But, at the same time, I feel that I have explored myself to the point where I am getting a little bit anxious because I know there is so much more for me to know about myself that I can't do until I get into different situations and meet different people. And being at home.... So, though I feel very confident in who I am, I am starting to get kind of bored. You know, like I've gotten to this point, and yeah, day to day events can allow me to reflect. But, at the same time, I feel that you know, "okay is this ever going to change?" And so, I get a little bit antsy and cagey sometimes and I think about what it would be like to move out and be on my own, or even with roommates, good or bad. Whatever, because that will bring out different aspects of me, that I am sure that are already there, or I'll learn to behave differently (....). I think that once I do move out. I might see myself more towards young adult-adult. When I can

actually you know, there's more responsibility. Well that's what to me being an adult is all about.

Wingwalker 24's discussion reflected her concerns, and those of many emerging adults as indicated by Arnett (2000, 2004). First, she specified that the experiences at university differ between individuals, depending on their life circumstances. She spoke of feeling in between, and how she felt that she had not become an adult. She also identified that living circumstances were an important marker, and listed the advantages and disadvantages of living at home for her. She illustrated the importance self-focus in emerging adulthood in reporting that

I feel that I have explored myself to the point where I am getting a little bit anxious because I know there is so much more for me to know about myself that I can't do until I get into different situations and meet different people.

It is thoughts and beliefs such as Wingwalker's that are indicative of the sense of instability, self-focus, ability for reflection, and impending possibilities of emerging adulthood, as well as the heterogeneity among emerging adults.

This study provided very interesting findings that serve to assist us in our understanding of level of voice and imaginary audience in undergraduate emerging adults. The researcher observed positive correlations between masculine gender orientation and level of voice with parents, with women classmates and men classmates. In the past, researchers also reported a relationship between higher levels of voice and masculine gender orientation (e.g. Gilligan, 1982, 1993 Lapsley & Murphy, 1988; Peterson & Roscoe, 1991). In addition, the researcher found positive correlations between level of voice with men classmates and level of voice with professors, and level of voice

with women classmates and level of voice with professors were found all of which are relationships in public contexts.

The researcher found only one weak correlational relationship between level of voice and imaginary audience using existing measures, despite the suggestions that such a relationship exists (Lapsley, 1993; Vartanian, 2000). In addition, gender differences were not revealed on imaginary audience or level of voice which also differed from past suggestions (e.g. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 1993; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990; Peterson & Roscoe, 1991; Ryan & Kuszkowski, 1994). However, some of the interview participants in this study described a connection between imaginary audience and level of voice indicating that when they felt lower levels of voice, or loss of voice, they were more likely to engage in imaginary audience ideation. Others spoke of acting and using masks, and wanting to deflect attention away from themselves when referring to both imaginary audience and voice, though a few of the participants interviewed reported that they did not engage in imaginary audience. Participants who used imaginary audience described it as a method of preparation, as a coping mechanism to deal with discomfort, or, for some, as a form of fantasy. Most of the participants said that they drew on imaginary audience during adolescence to meet social demands, and to maintain a desirable image to others. The information that emerged from the data analysis pointed out that imaginary audience varied for these emerging adults, and that their experiences in emerging adulthood differed from their experiences during adolescence.

Some researchers suggested that the need for connection associated with imaginary audience and others with lower levels of voice were related to feminine gender orientation (Brown, 1991; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hammer, 1990;

Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson 1989; Vartanian, 2000). In an examination of gender differences and gender orientation in this study, women reported higher scores of feminine gender orientation than did men. This finding is consistent with past research suggesting that women may take on characteristics associated with femininity more that men do, and that the experiences of social interactions mold individual to adopt stereotypic gender roles (Bosacki, 2005; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, 2003; Lapsley, 1993; Lapsley FitzGerald, Rice and Jackson, 1989; Rogers, 1993)

The researcher also considered academic success in her consideration of imaginary audience and voice. She found that students with low grade point standing (GPA) differed from those with medium and high GPA, on level of voice with parents, and on feminine gender orientation, and those with low GPA also differed from those with high GPA on level of voice with professors. Thus, those with high GPA had higher levels of voice with parents and professors than those with low GPA, and those who had higher GPA reported higher feminine gender orientation than those with lower GPA.

The findings from this study provide direction for future researchers who may consider imaginary audience and voice in undergraduate e[redacted]ts. The researcher of this study suggests that future researchers must continue to engage in methods that will allow emerging adults to share their experiences and beliefs concerning their voices and imaginary audience ideation. We should use a wide variety of qualitative methods to gather and synthesize information, as it is the actual experiences that will help us understand the lives of emerging adults. In addition, researchers would benefit from studying diverse groups using longitudinal studies. Researchers should compare other

peoples' beliefs about emerging adults (i.e. parents, professors, employers, etc.) with the actual experiences of emerging adults. Researchers might also consider the progression of emerging adulthood, with consideration of age differences, and trends from the beginning of emerging adulthood to the movement into adulthood. In understanding the lives of emerging adults, we might assist this group of people to fulfill their needs during a most complex developmental period of life. In addition, qualitative research would guide researchers in refining existing measures and/or developing new measures that target factors specific to the daily lives of emerging adults. Such measures may help in working toward a greater understanding of emerging adults' lives.

The participants in this study demonstrated the importance of relationships and of connection in relationships during emerging adulthood. This study has provided a preliminary understanding of the contexts of voice and imaginary audience among emerging adults within a university setting, and in different relational contexts. As researchers and educators, we must continue to increase our knowledge and understanding of what emerging adults may experience, providing them with possibilities that to broaden their learning and their personal lives. Along that line, Arnett (2000) stated

> Emerging adults often explore a variety of possible life directions in love, work and in worldviews. Emerging adulthood is a time of life when many different directions remain possible and when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life's possibilities is greater for most people than any other period of the life course (p. 459).

As a researcher and educator, I have found emerging adulthood to be among the most diverse and fascinating periods of life to study. Because of my interest in the lives of emerging adults and because of their willingness to share their thoughts, beliefs and experiences, my future holds many possibilities for research, education and contemplative thought.

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APPENDIX A
INFORMATION LETTER AND CONSENT FORM

Research Project Title: Issues in Development among University Students
Researcher: Sheila Manohar

I would like to invite you to participate in a doctoral research study examining issues concerning development and relationships among University students age 18 to 25. As part of the informed consent process, this letter will serve to provide you with general information about the research and what will be expected of participants, if you agree to participate in this research.

The purpose of this research project is to explore university students' beliefs and behaviours in relationships within different contexts. You will be asked to rate what kind of person you think you are, how comfortable you feel saying what you think to your parents, classmates and professors, and how often you imagine yourself in particular situations.

This study requires 30 to 45 minutes of your time. During this time, you will be asked to complete four paper and pencil questionnaires. You will also be asked to provide some personal information (marital status, age, estimated GPA, faculty of study, etc.). Information obtained will remain strictly confidential. In order to ensure your privacy, I ask that you please return all written information in the envelopes provided to you.

In completing the questionnaires, you will be required to think about how you feel in different relationships. You are asked to provide honest responses. If at anytime during the completion of the questionnaires, you feel that you do not wish to continue with the research, please feel free to withdraw from the research. If you decline participation or withdraw from the study, any data collected will not be used in the study and there will be no penalty for your withdrawal. If you have questions during the completion of the questionnaires, please feel free to ask the researcher for assistance. Participation in this study is voluntary, and will not influence your success in the class in which the study was conducted. The information from this study will be used to further research in the area of developmental psychology and learning, and may provide educators with valuable information about students and their beliefs and needs.

The findings from this study will be used within my doctoral dissertation, and may be submitted for publication in scholarly journals, and for presentation at professional and scholarly conferences. Any information used in the written form of this study will not include information that would directly identify you to ensure your anonymity. All data obtained will be kept in a locked cabinet which only my supervisor and I will have access to. All research assistants will comply with the University of Alberta Standards for the protection of Human Research participants http:// www.ualberta.ca/~unisecr/policy/sec66html. Information will be kept for a period of five years, at which time all information gathered

will be destroyed. All information will be held confidential (private), except when professional codes of ethics or legislation (the law) require reporting.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Faculties of Education and Extension Research Ethics Board (EE REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EE REB at (780) 492-3751.

If you require assistance or have any questions about the research, you may feel free to contact:

Researcher: Sheila Manohar, University of Alberta
Email: smanohar@ualberta.ca

Research Supervisor: Dr. Gretchen Hess, Vice-Provost, University of Alberta
Phone Number: (780) 492-2280

Department of Educational Psychology Chair: Dr. Linda McDonald, University of Alberta
Email: linda.mcdonald@ualberta.ca
telephone number: (780) 492-2389

Thank you for your time and consideration. A copy of this letter has been given to you for your reference and records.

If you choose to participate in this study, please read and sign the following consent form.

CONSENT FORM

Part 1: Researcher Information		
Name of the Principal Investigator: Sheila Manohar Research Project title: Issues in Development among University Students Affiliation: University of Alberta Contact Information: smanohar@ualberta.ca		
Name of Supervisor: Dr. Gretchen Hess Affiliation: University of Alberta Contact Information (780) 492-2280		
Part 2: Consent of Participant		
I understand that I have been asked to be in a research study.	**yes**	**no**
I have read and received a copy of the attached Information Letter.		
I understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study.		
I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study.		
I understand that I am free to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without providing reasons and without negative consequences.		
The issues of confidentiality and anonymity have been explained to me and I understand who will have access to information provided by me.		
I understand that the findings from this study will be used within the researcher's dissertation, and may be submitted for publication in scholarly journals and for presentation at professional and scholarly conferences		
Part 3: Signatures		

This study was explained to me by: _____

Date: _____

I agree to participate in this study.

Signature of the Research Participant _____

Printed Name _____

Date: _____

* A copy of this consent form has been given to you for your reference and records.

APPENDIX B
PERSONAL INFORMATION SHEET

Please fill in the personal information requested in all of the spaces provided on this sheet provided. Where there are boxes please check only one box. For questions requiring a written answer, please print. All information will remain confidential. Thanks.

1) Current Age _____

2) Gender ☐ Male ☐ Female

3) Year in University

☐ First ☐ Second

☐ Third ☐ Fourth ☐ Other

4) Overall Grade Point Average

☐ 4-4.4 (or less) ☐ 4.5 to 5.4 ☐ 5.5 to 7.9 ☐ 8 to 9

5) Are you in school Full or Part time? ☐ Full time ☐ Part time

6) Faculty of Study

☐ Agriculture, Forestry and Home Economics
☐ Arts
☐ Business
☐ Education
☐ Engineering
☐ Law
☐ Medicine and Dentistry
☐ Nursing
☐ Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences
☐ Physical Education and Recreation
☐ Rehabilitation Medicine
☐ Faculté Saint-Jean
☐ Science
☐ Other (please specify)_____

7) Major

_____

(e.g. English; Elementary Education; Marketing; Music. *If you have not declared a major please specify your major as unknown)

Please go to the next page

8) Marital Status ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Common-Law

☐ Divorced ☐ Other (please explain)_____

9) Sex ☐ Heterosexual ☐ Homosexual

10) Are you a parent? ☐ Yes ☐ No

11) If you are not married, do you hope to marry eventually? ☐ Yes ☐ No

12) If you do not have children, do you hope to have children eventually?

☐ Yes ☐ No

13) Current Employment ☐ Full time ☐ Part time ☐ I am not currently employed

14) Financial Support

☐ I support myself entirely. ☐ My parents partly support me.

☐ My parents support me entirely. ☐ Other _____(please specify)

15) Current Living Arrangements:

☐ I live with my parents. ☐ I live in a dormitory (residence hall/fraternity).

☐ I live in an apartment. ☐ I live in a house that I own.

☐ I live in a rented house. ☐ Other_____(explain)

16) Where did you grow up? ☐ City ☐ Town ☐ Farm ☐ Other (specify)_____

17) What country did you grow up

in?_____

18) Nationality ☐ Canadian ☐ Other_____(please specify)

19) What is your first language? ☐ English ☐ Other_____(please

specify)

Please go to the next page

20) Which languages other than English do you speak?_____

_____

21) How do you identify with your ethnicity (e.g. Afghani; Chinese, English Greek, Indian, Chinese Canadian, Indo-Canadian, etc)

_____

21b) How much do you identify with your ethnicity:

☐ fully ☐ partly (about 50% of the time)

☐ partly (less than 50% of the time) ☐ not at all

22) Do you use the Internet? ☐ Yes ☐ No

23) What do you use the Internet for? (please check all that apply)

☐ e-mail ☐ library access ☐ Internet dating

☐ for work ☐ employment ☐ shopping

☐ chat room conversations (known audiences)

☐ chat room conversations (unknown audiences)

☐ games_____ (please specify)

☐ other purposes (please specify)_____

24) Do you think that you have reached adulthood?

☐ In some respects yes and in some respects no.

☐ Yes ☐ No.

Please go to the next page

25) Please explain your response to question 24:_____

_____

26) Which best describes you?

☐ adolescent ☐ late adolescent ☐ youth ☐ young adult ☐ adult ☐ other

27) Please explain your response to question 26:

_____

_____

28) Which best describes how your parents view you?

☐ adolescent ☐ late adolescent ☐ youth ☐ young adult ☐ adult ☐ other

29) Please explain your response to question 28:_____

_____

30) Which best describes how your professors view you?

☐ adolescent ☐ late adolescent ☐ youth ☐ young adult ☐ adult ☐ other

31) Please explain your response to question 30:_____

_____

32) Which best describes how your employers view you?

☐ adolescent ☐ late adolescent ☐ youth ☐ young adult ☐ adult ☐ other

☐ I am not employed

33) Please explain your response to question 32:_____

_____

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW INVITATION

Thank you for taking the time to complete the surveys and for providing information about yourself. In this study, I am examining the different beliefs individuals may have in expressing what they know and feel with other people in different situations. For some people, the ease with which they express themselves may be related to their relationship with the other person(s). I am also considering how some people are concerned about the ways in which others might react to them, what others are thinking about them, and how some people imagine themselves in certain situations before they occur.

In order to gather more information for my research (as explained above), I would like to conduct interviews with approximately 5-10 individuals who have completed the surveys today. Participants would be asked to share personal experiences concerning their level of voice (expressing what they feel and know) and their concerns about others' reactions and possibly how they imagine situations before they occur. I will purposefully select interview participants based on your expressed interest, the questionnaires, and the background information you presented me today. Any information given will remain confidential. You are under no obligation to participate in the interviews. If you are interested in participating in an interview, please fill in the following information. Please print:

Name_____

Phone Number_____

E-mail_____

Best time and method of contact_____

Signature_____

Date_____

If you are selected for an interview, you will be contacted by me within this semester in order to set up an interview date and time. At that time, I will provide the selected participants with further information. Thanks again. Please feel free to contact me at smanohar@ualberta.ca if you have any further questions.

APPENDIX D

NEW IMAGINARY AUDIENCE SCALE (NIAS)

Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice & Jackson, 1989).

How often do you daydream or imagine yourself to be in the following situations? In order to tell us how often you think about these situations, just put the appropriate number (from 1 to 4) on the line next to each statement.

Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often
1	2	3	4

_____1. Winning a lot of money

_____2. Being a rock star

_____3. Being a movie or TV star

_____4. Winning an important game for your team

_____5. Being popular with friends

_____6. Being admired for the way you look

_____7. Being a good athlete

_____8. Being admired because of the way you dress

_____9. Being an important leader

_____10. Performing in front of your school in a play

_____11. Being admired because of how smart you are

_____12. Having a popular boyfriend or girlfriend

_____13. Performing in front of your school in a band

_____14. Rescuing a friend from danger

_____15. Saving someone's life

_____16. Standing up to a bully

_____17. Winning an important award

_____18. Showing others that you are strong

_____19. Imagining how others would feel if you were gone

_____20. Showing others that you are kind and friendly

_____21. Having a lot of friends

_____22. Getting your feelings hurt in public

Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often
1	2	3	4

_____23. Making people sorry for hurting you

_____24. Getting back at an enemy

_____25. Developing a friendship with someone who doesn't like you

_____26. Imagining how others would feel if you lost your mother or father

_____27. Imagining how others would feel if you were in the hospital

_____28. Giving an important speech

_____29. Being rejected by a boyfriend or a girlfriend

_____30. Being admired because you are funny

_____31. Being admired because of the car you have or want to have

_____32. Being admired because of your music collection or sound system

_____33. Imagining what others are thinking about the way you look

_____34. Asking a popular boy or girl for a date

_____35. What it's like to be married

_____36. Making a good impression on your teachers

_____37. Imagining what everyone will think if you became famous

_____38. Other people seem to enjoy it when I am the center of attention

_____39. Thinking about who would come to your funeral and what would be going through their mind

_____40. Imagining if other people think you are attractive

_____41. Being admired for being 'cool'

_____42. Wondering what it would be like to have special powers

APPENDIX E

LEVEL OF VOICE QUESTIONNAIRE (LVS)

Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998)

Read each statement all the way across. Each statement describes two kinds of people, one on the left and one on the right. First, decide which kind of person **you are most like**, the one on the left or the one on the right. Pick one. Then for that kind of person check whether that description is really true or just sort of true for you. So for each numbered item you will be checking **ONLY ONE BOX**. Sometimes it will be on the left, sometimes on the right. Do not check both sides. Just put a check on the side that is **most like you.**

Really True For Me	Sort of True For Me	Sample Sentence			Sort of True For Me	Really True For Me
☐	☐	Some people like to go to movies in their spare time	**BUT**	Other people would rather go to sports events.	☐	☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY PARENTS

Really True For Me	Sort of True For Me				Sort of True For Me	Really True For Me
☐	☐	Some people share what they are thinking with their parents.	**BUT**	Other people find it hard to share what they are thinking with their parents.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people usually don't say what's on their mind around their parents.	**BUT**	Other people do say what's on their mind around their parents.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people are able to express their opinions to their parents.	**BUT**	Other people have trouble expressing their opinion to their parents.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people are able to let let their parents know what's on their mind.	**BUT**	Other people are not able to let their parents know what's on their mind.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people have a hard time expressing their point of view to their parents.	**BUT**	Other people can express their point of view to their parents.	☐	☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY WOMEN CLASSMATES

Really True For Me	Sort of True For Me				Sort of True For Me	Really True For Me
☐	☐	Some people share what they are thinking with their women classmates.	**BUT**	Other people find it hard to share what they are thinking with their women classmates.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people usually don't say what's on their mind around their women classmates.	**BUT**	Other people do say what's on their mind around their women classmates.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people are able to express their opinions to their women classmates.	**BUT**	Other people have trouble expressing their opinion to their women classmates.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people are able to let let their women classmates know what's on their mind.	**BUT**	Other people are not able to let their women classmates know what's on their mind.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people have a hard time expressing their point of view to their women classmates.	**BUT**	Other people can express their point of view to their women classmates.	☐	☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY MEN CLASSMATES

Really True For Me	Sort of True For Me				Sort of True For Me	Really True For Me
☐	☐	Some people share what they are thinking with their men classmates.	**BUT**	Other people find it hard to share what they are thinking with their men classmates.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people usually don't say what's on their mind around their men classmates.	**BUT**	Other people do say what's on their mind around their men classmates.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people are able to express their opinions to their men classmates.	**BUT**	Other people have trouble expressing their opinion to their men classmates.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people are able to let let their men classmates know what's on their mind.	**BUT**	Other people are not able to let their men classmates know what's on their mind.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people have a hard time expressing their point of view to their men classmates.	**BUT**	Other people can express their point of view to their men classmates.	☐	☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY PROFESSORS

Really True For Me	Sort of True For Me				Sort of True For Me	Really True For Me
☐	☐	Some people share what they are thinking with their professors.	**BUT**	Other people find it hard to share what they are thinking with their professors.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people usually don't say what's on their mind around their professors.	**BUT**	Other people do say what's on their mind around their professors.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people are able to express their opinions to their professors.	**BUT**	Other people have trouble expressing their opinion to their professors.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people are able to let let their professors know what's on their mind.	**BUT**	Other people are not able to let their professors know what's on their mind.	☐	☐
☐	☐	Some people have a hard time expressing their point of view to their professors.	**BUT**	Other people can express their point of view to their professors.	☐	☐

APPENDIX F
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES QUESTIONNAIRE (PAQ)
(Spence & Helmreich, 1978)

The items below inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each items consists of a pair of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example:

Not at all Artistic A.....B.....C.....D.....E Very Artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics--that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic. The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where you fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose A. If you think you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium, you might choose C, and so forth.

	A	B	C	D	E	
1. Not at all aggressive	○	○	○	○	○	Very aggressive
2. Not at all Independent	○	○	○	○	○	Very independent
3. Not at all emotional	○	○	○	○	○	Very emotional
4. Very submissive	○	○	○	○	○	Very dominant
5. Not at all excitable in a major crisis	○	○	○	○	○	Very excitable in a major crisis
6. Very passive	○	○	○	○	○	Very active
7. Not at all able to devote self completely to others	○	○	○	○	○	Able to devote self completely to others
8. Very rough	○	○	○	○	○	Very gentle
9. Not at all helpful to others	○	○	○	○	○	Very helpful to others
10. Not at all competitive	○	○	○	○	○	Very competitive
11. Very home oriented	○	○	○	○	○	Very worldly
12. Not at all kind	○	○	○	○	○	Very kind
13. Indifferent to others approval	○	○	○	○	○	Highly needful of others approval
14. Feelings not easily hurt	○	○	○	○	○	Feelings easily hurt
15. Not at all aware of feelings of others	○	○	○	○	○	Very aware of feelings of others
16. Can make decisions easily	○	○	○	○	○	Has difficulty making decisions
17. Gives up very easily	○	○	○	○	○	Never gives up easily
18. Never cries	○	○	○	○	○	Cries very easily
19. Not at all self-confident	○	○	○	○	○	Very self-confident
20. Feels very inferior	○	○	○	○	○	Feels superior
21. Not at all understanding of others	○	○	○	○	○	Very understanding of others
22. Very cold in relations with others	○	○	○	○	○	Very warm in relations with others
23. Very little need for security	○	○	○	○	○	Very strong need for security
24. Goes to pieces under pressure	○	○	○	○	○	Stands up well under pressure

APPENDIX G
INVENTORY OF THE DIMENSIONS OF EMERGING ADULTHOOD (IDEA)
(Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2003).

Views of Life Survey

For the first part of the survey, please think about this time in your life. By "time in your life," we are referring to the present time, plus the last few years that have gone by, and the next few years to come, as you see them. In short, you should think about a roughly five-year period, with the present time right in the middle.

For each phrase shown below, please place a check mark in one of the columns to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree that the phrase describes this time in your life. For example, if you "Somewhat Agree" that this is a "time of exploration," then on the same line as the phrase, you would put a check mark in the column headed by "Somewhat Agree" (3). Be sure to put only one check mark per line.

Is this period of your life a...	Strongly Disagree (1)	Somewhat Disagree (2)	Somewhat Agree (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
1. time of many possibilities?				
2. time of exploration?				
3. time of confusion?				
4. time of experimentation?				
5. time of personal freedom?				
6. time of feeling restricted?				
7. time of responsibility for yourself?				
8. time of feeling stressed out?				
9. time of instability?				
10. time of optimism?				
11. time of high pressure?				
12. time of finding out who you are?				
13. time of settling down?				
14. time of responsibility for others?				
15. time of independence?				
16. time of open choices?				
17. time of unpredictability?				
18. time of commitments to others?				
19. time of self-sufficiency?				
20. time of many worries?				
21. time of trying out new things?				
22. time of focusing on yourself?				
23. time of separating from parents?				
24. time of defining yourself?				
25. time of planning for the future?				
26. time of seeking a sense of meaning?				
27. time of deciding on your own beliefs and values?				
28. time of learning to think for yourself?				
29. time of feeling adult in some ways but not others?				
30. time of gradually becoming an adult?				
31. time of being not sure whether you have reached full adulthood?				

APPENDIX H
INTERVIEW INFORMATION

Research Project Title: Issues in Development among University Students
Researcher: Sheila Manohar

Dear Participant:

Thank you for volunteering to participate in my dissertation research project which involves an examination of people's different beliefs about expressing themselves concerning what they know and feel, and also how people believe they are perceived by others. The purpose of the interview process is to examine the specific and personal experiences of the participants involved. In this study, I am examining the different beliefs individuals may have in expressing what they know and feel with other people in different situations. For some people their ease may depend on their relationship with the other person(s). In addition, I am also considering how some people are concerned about the ways in which others might react to them, what others are thinking about them, and how some people imagine themselves in certain situations before they occur.

The interview process will take approximately 45 minutes of your time. In some cases, participants will be asked for a follow-up interview that would involve 30-45 minutes of your time. All interviews will be conducted by the researcher and, tape-recorded. There are no known risks of completing these interviews. While completing the interviews, you will be required to think about how you feel in different relationships. If at anytime during the completion of the interviews you feel that you do not wish to continue with the research, please feel free to withdraw from the research. If you decline participation or withdraw from the study any information collected will not be used in the study and there will be no penalty for your withdrawal. If you have questions during the completion of the interviews please feel free to ask the researcher for assistance. Participation in this study is voluntary. The information from this study will be used to further research in the area of developmental psychology and learning, and may provide researchers and educators with valuable information about students and their beliefs and needs

The findings from this study will be used within my doctoral dissertation, and may be submitted for publication in scholarly journals, and for presentation at professional and scholarly conferences. Any information used in the written form of this study will not include information that would directly identify you to ensure confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used in order to ensure your anonymity. All research assistants will comply with the University of Alberta Standards for the protection of Human Research participant
http:// www.ualberta.ca/~unisecr/policy/sec66html. Only you, my supervisor, and I will have direct access to your transcripts after information is transcribed. In addition, you will be given the opportunity to see how material from the interview is integrated into the dissertation, and will have a chance to request revisions, deletions, and other changes. Information will be kept for a period of five years, at which time all information gathered

will be destroyed. All information will be held confidential (private), except when professional codes of ethics or legislation (the law) require reporting.
This research has been reviewed and approved by the Faculties of Education and Extension Research Ethics Board (EE REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EE REB at (780) 492-3751

If you require assistance or have any questions about the research, you may feel free to contact:

Researcher: Sheila Manohar, University of Alberta
Email: smanohar@ualberta.ca

Research Supervisor: Dr. Gretchen Hess, Vice-Provost, University of Alberta
Telephone number: (780) 492-2280

Department of Educational Psychology Chair: Dr. Linda McDonald, University of Alberta
Email: linda.mcdonald@ualberta.ca
Telephone number: (780) 492-2389

Thank you for your time and consideration. A copy of this letter has been given to you for your reference and records.

If you choose to participate in this study, please read and sign the following consent form.

CONSENT FORM

Part 1: Researcher Information

Name of the Principal Investigator: Sheila Manohar
Research Project title: Issues in Development among University Students
Affiliation: University of Alberta
Contact Information: smanohar@ualberta.ca

Name of Supervisor: Dr. Gretchen Hess
Affiliation: University of Alberta
Contact Information (780) 492-2280

Part 2: Consent of Participant

	yes	no
I understand that I have been asked to be in a research study.		
I have read and received a copy of the attached Information Letter.		
I understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study.		
I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study.		
I understand that I am free to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without providing reasons and without negative consequences.		
The issues of confidentiality and anonymity have been explained to me and I understand who will have access to information provided by me.		
I understand that the findings from this study will be used within the researcher's dissertation, and may be submitted for publication in scholarly journals and for presentation at professional and scholarly conferences		

Part 3: Signatures

This study was explained to me by: _____

Date: _____

I agree to participate in this study.

Signature of the Research Participant _____

Printed Name _____

Date: _____

* A copy of this consent form has been given to you for your reference and records.

APPENDIX I
INTERVIEW GUIDELINES/QUESTIONS

The study that I am conducting involves an exploration of people's level of voice. The term voice refers to the ease with which one expresses or can speak about what he or she knows, and feels. (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). Some people feel at ease with certain people and not with others in expressing themselves. However, some people repress what they know and feel in other relationships. Brown and Gilligan (1992) suggest that people sometimes repress their voice (they do not express their feelings or what they know) in order to maintain relationships with other people (to look good or nice, or to steer attention away from oneself etc.). It is very natural for all of us to feel more at ease with certain people than with others. However, some of us repress our voices more than others.

Can you tell me a little about your voice?

1) How do you feel about your voice (expressing your thoughts and feelings in different relationships)?
2) Are there relationships in which you feel at ease in expressing yourself? If so can you tell me a little about it?
3) Are there certain relationships in which you feel you have difficulty or cannot express you thoughts and feelings? Can you tell me about it? What is your relationship with these persons?
4) How much do you care what other people think about you?

Just as people express themselves with different levels of ease, some people imagine themselves in real or imaginary situations, more than other people do. Sometimes people imagine themselves because they feel others are paying attention and perhaps evaluating them (Lapsley & Rice, 1988).

1) Do you ever imagine yourself in situations or social settings? For example, before you go out on a date, do you imagine how the date will go and what you will say to your date etc.? On the other hand, do you imagine yourself in front of an audience before a class presentation? Or do you present yourself differently (as a different person) online? etc. Can you tell me a bit about yourself?
2) Sometimes people imagine themselves in certain situations because they place great importance on the event or situation. In addition, sometimes when people place great importance on relationships with others, they imagine themselves and the reactions of those other people? What do you think of this suggestion? How might it relate to you?
3) Are you concerned with others' reactions to your behaviours, appearances etc.? Why? Why not?
4) Do you ever feel like an actor in certain situations? Can you tell me about this?
5) How would you relate your ease of expression with others to your use of imaginary audiences?
6) Is there anything else you would like to share?
7) Would you like to comment on the surveys that you completed as a part of the study?